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Scic



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Knights Hospitallers
O F
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM;
Styled afterwards,
THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES,
And at present,
THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

Translated from the **FRENCH** of
Mons. L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for **ALEXANDER DONALDSON,**
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And sold at his Shops, at the Corner of Arundel-
Street, Strand, London, and at Edinburgh.

MDCCLXX. Digitized by Google

To his most eminent Highness

DON ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA,

GRAND MASTER of the ORDER of St. JOHN of
JERUSALEM.

S I R,

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Highness a work, which is most properly yours, as it contains the history of your order. You have here an account of the glorious actions which have been wrought by your predecessors, in different ages, for the defence of the altars and estates of Christendom. Those great men, who filled the world with the reputation of their arms, and the fame of their valour, were no less distinguished by their firm adherence to the observation of a religious discipline.

As you, Sir, have been justly raised to the same high employment, you place your sole glory in the imitation of their virtues. Like them, you secure to Christians the liberty of navigation, at the same time that you labour to make justice and unity, peace and piety to flourish in your order. It is these qualifications which have drawn upon you the unanimous prayers of all your brethren, for the

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DEDICATION.

long continuance of so happy a government.
Accept, Sir, of my ardent wishes in particular for your preservation, and of the profound respect, with which I am,

S I R,

Your Eminency's

most humble and

most obedient servant,

L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

THE P R E F A C E.

I AM at a loss to know what sort of reception this history will meet with from the public; for though I have been flattered with the hopes of success, by the kind encouragement my friends have given me, to proceed in so laborious an undertaking, I am but too well acquainted with my own inabilities, and the difficulties of the work itself, to place any great confidence in the too good-natured judgments which have been formed already in my favour. For to pass by the necessity I have been under of looking back into ages above six hundred years distant from us, I have been farther obliged, even in times so remote, to trace out only the faint glimmerings of a dark original, which must of consequence be the less likely to give a just satisfaction to the reader's curiosity. And besides, after all the pains I have taken, and the many years I have been employed upon this subject, I cannot but own at last, that, till I had finished it, I was not sensible how far I had fallen short of that perfection, which the nature of such a work requires.

It is true indeed, that if we can stand the shock of so obscure a beginning, and overlook the first facts, wherein we have so small a share of concern, the succeeding ages will furnish us with such extraordinary examples of piety and courage, as will sufficiently make amends for the barrenness of the former, and abundantly supply, by the choice of matter, any defects in form, which may have arose from my manner of writing. We shall there read of an illustrious body of monks, confined at first to the narrow bounds of an hospital, who, amidst
the

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the humiliations of a careful attendance upon the sick, and provision for the poor, extended their zeal and their power so far, as to take up arms against the infidels, the professed enemies of the christian religion, and united in one the differing virtues of two distinct professions, so seemingly opposite in their nature.

The garb of these military monks was plain and modest; they reserved magnificence for the ornament of their altars; and the poor and the pilgrim reaped the advantage of the frugality of their tables. They never left the apartments of the sick; but to give themselves up to prayer, or to take the field against the enemies of the cross, which was at once their standard and their habit. No ambition could fire the breasts of our noble warriors, where virtue was the only road that could lead to advancement; whilst their charity, their first engagement, and the very bond of all the christian virtues, did not forsake them, even in their conflicts with the infidels; for notwithstanding all the advantages they gained over them in battle, they were satisfied with disarming the barbarians, and, amidst the triumphs of a victory, sought only to convert the enemy, or at least to disable them from doing mischief.

Such was the golden age of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. In after times indeed, it must be owned, the knights grew more remiss in the severe practice of so many different virtues; and it is but too notorious, that the religious character was often lost in the soldier. The reader will easily observe, that this change of manners has cast a shade upon some parts of my narration. And yet, notwithstanding this effect of human frailty, unless I am misled by a too partial regard for my own performance, I cannot but be of opinion, that the like spirit of disinterestedness and zeal, the like purity of manners, and intrepidity in the midst of the greatest dangers, was never kept up

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up, through so long a succession of so many ages, in any one of the military orders, which have been dispersed throughout the several countries of Christendom ; nor has there been any, where luxury and an over earnest pursuit after wealth and pleasures have obtained so late an admission.

I have purposely omitted, in this history, some surprizing accounts, which are to be met with in the annals of the order ; and in particular the conversion of Ismenia, a Sarazen princess of most exquisite beauty, as are all the heroines in the antient chronicles, whom the author has conveyed in one night from Egypt into Picardy, in company with three knights of the order, who were all of them brothers, and had each a great share in the lady's conversion ; a pious fable, which may justly deserve to be rejected with the rest of the old legendary stories, that are rather calculated to raise the mirth of libertines, than promote the edification of pious and well-disposed persons.

The first thirteen books of this history are wrote in the way of narrative, and conclude with the death of the grand master John de la Valette in 1568. The fourteenth is drawn up in form of annals, and give a succinct account of the most considerable transactions from 1568, to the present time. And the fourteenth treats of the government of the order.

BOOK I.

This union of two professions so remote and distant from each other, till then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of these military friars, their zeal for the defence of the Christians, the numerous fights and battles in which they have been engaged for near seven hundred years, and the various successes of their arms; all these particulars seem to me an object worthy the regard and consideration of mankind; and possibly the public will not look upon the history of these soldiers of Jesus Christ without surprise and admiration, who, like a second race of Maccabees, have constantly opposed

fed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.

But before we enter upon the institution of this order, I think it necessary to acquaint the reader with the state of Asia at that time ; to inform him from what country the first infidels they made war upon came ; to lay before him the religion, the power, and the forces of those barbarians, and especially their declared hatred to the Christians : all which circumstances, though indeed prior to the foundation of this order, yet seem to have some connection with the history, as a preliminary and introduction to it, and the knowledge of which will serve to clear up the particulars related in the course of it.

That part of Asia which lies between the Euxine or Black-sea and the Euphrates, was, in the beginning of the seventh century, still under the dominion of the Romans, whose vast empire had swallowed up the most puissant states of our continent.

But after the death of Theodosius the Great, *Anno* this formidable empire began to decline, being 395. weakened either by the incursions of the barbarians, or perhaps likewise by the division and dismembering of it by his sons the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, princes of a weak and unenterprising spirit, who only lent their names to the transactions of their reigns, and were both governed by imperious ministers, who had made themselves the tyrants and lords of their masters.

Most of the eastern emperors that succeeded Arcadius, either for fear of being dethroned by usurpers, or being such themselves, were less solicitous of a military name and reputation, and of putting a stop to the inroads of the barbarians, than of maintaining themselves upon the throne. Being always upon their guard against their own subjects, they durst not turn their backs upon the capital of the empire, or venture beyond the bounds of their palace,

palace, for fear some rebel should seize them; and the utmost happiness they aimed, at was to enjoy the charms of sovereign power in a slothful and unactive magnificence. Those famous Cæsars, the masters of the world, were no more to be found under the imperial purple: these later emperors had nothing but the name; and the majesty of the empire was now no more to be seen but in the vain ornaments with which they covered their weakness and cowardice.

Religion was no less a sufferer than the state by so wretched an administration. The east was at that time infected with several heresies, the offspring and effect of the warm imagination and too refining disposition of the Greeks. Some bishops and monks, attempting to explain the various mysteries of the incarnation after a manner too much adapted to human capacity, had involved themselves in error; and to compleat the misfortune, they had found out means to engage several emperors in their party, who, instead of opposing the incursions of the barbarians, thought they had no other enemies but such as declared against their errors.

The empire, however, in the midst of all these confusions, still supported itself by the weight of its own grandeur, and about the beginning of the seventh century, the Emperor Heraclius had gained some advantages over the Seythians and Persians. But while that prince was engaged with these barbarians, and employed in revenging the ravages they had committed upon the empire, there appeared in the deserts of Arabia one of those restless and ambitious mortals, which seem to be born only to change the face of the universe; and whose followers having wrested the most beautiful provinces of the east out of the hands of the Greeks, at length gave the last and fatal blow to this empire, and buried it in its own ruins.

The reader will easily perceive that I am speaking

of Mahomet, the most crafty and dangerous impostor that had ever appeared in Asia. He was born

at Mecca, a city of Arabia Petræa, about 568 or the end of the sixth century, of idolatrous parents of the tribe of the Coraschites or

571. Corisians, the best family in the nation, and who, according to the usual vaunt of most of the Arabians, boasted themselves to be the progeny of Abraham, by Kedar, the son of Ishmael. By his * father's death, Mahomet became an orphan in his early years, and was left without any patrimony or subsistence. However, one of his † uncles took upon himself the care of his education, and for several years employed him in trade and commerce. From him he went into the service of a rich widow named Cadigha, who at first took him for her factor, and afterwards made him her husband. A match so greatly to his advantage, and so much above his hopes, the plentiful estate of his wife, and the improvements made to it by his own industry, filled his mind with the thoughts of grandeur and independency. His ambition increased with his fortune, and scarce was he free from a state of baseness and servitude, when riches without dominion were too little to satisfy his vast desires, and he carried his aims to so daring a pitch, as to aspire to the sovereign authority over his country.

Of the various methods he pitched upon for the accomplishment of this great design, none appeared more feasible to him than the establishment of a new religion, an engine which many of his predecessors in imposture had already made use of. Arabia was at that time peopled by Idolaters, Jews, and Christians, by Catholicks and Schismatics. The inhabitants of Mecca were all idolaters, and so very ignorant, that, excepting ‡ one single man that had travelled, they could none of them either read or

* Abdollah.

† Abu-taleb.

‡ Waraka.

write. This ignorance and diversity of worship seemed a favourable circumstance to Mahomet; and though he was no better a scholar than his neighbours, though he could neither write nor read, and was besides esteemed a man of bad morals, yet he had the assurance to form a design of setting up for a prophet in his own country, and in the very face of those who were eye-witnesses of his incontinence.

But as this transition, from a voluptuous life to so intimate a communication with heaven, would not easily find credit in the world, he quitted the companions and ministers of his pleasures, under the pretence of an entire change in his manners; and to put a better countenance upon his pretended reformation, for two years together the hypocrite frequently retired to a cave in mount Hira, about a league from Mecca, where he only meditated upon ways and means to bring his project to execution. At the end of this term, and under colour of being wearied with the pressing instances of his wife, to dissuade him from so melancholy a way of living, he pretended to intrust her with the fictitious revelations, which he said he had received from heaven by the ministry of one of the highest order of spirits, whom he called the angel Gabriel. And being subject to the falling sickness, he interpreted the fits of that distemper as ecstasies, caused, as he said, by the apparition of the celestial minister, whose presence he was not able to endure; and to spread the fame of these revelations insensibly among the people, he imparted the secret, as a matter of the utmost privacy, to his wife. To be the wife of a prophet was a privilege too great for her vanity to conceal. Cadigha soon run to acquaint her best friends with it, and the matter was no longer a secret, as Mahomet had plainly foreseen. After this he opened himself to some citizens of Mecca, whom he thought credulous enough to be persuaded into

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it, and whom he actually seduced by his art and address.

If we may believe * Elmacin, the Arabian historiographer, Mahomet had a noble air and deportment, a sweet and a modest countenance, a docile and ready wit, a courteous and obliging manner, and an insinuating conversation. Besides, he had all the necessary qualifications for the head of a party; profusely liberal, ready in discerning, and exact in disposing of men according to their talents. He had all the art and reserve for acting without umbrage or discovery; and in the management and conduct of his designs afterwards, he shewed a constancy and courage superior to the greatest dangers. Having soon got some disciples to countenance and support him, he made a secret of his doctrine no longer, and taking his mission from himself, he set up for a preacher; and though he was a man of no learning, yet he gained access to the ears of his countrymen, by the purity of his language, and the noble tour of his expressions. He excelled especially in a certain oriental eloquence, consisting in parables and allegories, with which he clothed and involved his discourses.

But as he was by no means ignorant, that every appearance of novelty in religion is always suspected, he declared that his design was not so much to found a new religion, as to revive the ancient laws, which God had given to men, and to purge them from the fables and superstitions with which they had been blended afterwards. He added, that Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, had successively preached a doctrine, truly holy to the world; a doctrine, says he, which these two great prophets confirmed by notable and signal miracles, but that the Jews and Christians had equally altered and corrupted it by human traditions; and lastly, that

* L. 1. c. 1. Hotting. hist. orient. 1. 2. c. 4.

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God had sent him, as his last and greatest prophet, even greater than Moses and Jesus, to purify religion from the fables, which, under the notion of mysteries, men had obtruded upon it, and, if possible, to reduce all mankind to an agreement in opinion, and to the profession of one and the same faith. The cunning impostor, having, by such discourses as these, prepared the minds of the people, proceeded to form his system upon two different models, which he borrowed from the Jewish and Christian religion; and to proceed with the better success, he had privately, in his retreat, called in the assistance of a Persian * Jew, and a † Nestorian monk, both apostates, very well skilled in their respective religions, and who had several times read over to him the Old and New Testaments, out of ‡ which he afterwards took several passages, and adapted them to his new plan; and when, by the help of these two renegadoes, he had finished any article, he clothed it in a pompous and figurative style, endeavouring to imitate, sometimes the sublime in the beginning of Genesis, and sometimes the pathetick in the true prophets. Then he declared that he had received that article from heaven; and under pretence of being only the messenger and herald of this celestial doctrine, he referred his objectors to the pretended author of his revelations, and appealed even to his ignorance itself, as a proof of the little share he had in this new religion.

From the Jews he borrowed the principle relating to the existence and unity of one only God, without multiplication of the divine persons; and at the same time he pressed the belief of a resurrection, of the universal judgement, and of the rewards and punishments of another life. The Christians furnished him with the example of a lent fast, which

* Abdias Bensalon.

† Sergius aliter Bahira.

‡ See the discourse upon the Alcoran, at the end of the fourth volume.

he prescribed to his followers, of the frequent use of prayer, which he fixed to five times in a day, of charity towards the poor, and the forgiveness of enemies. And in regard to the pagans, he admitted an odd kind of predestination, which the ancient idolaters generally called destiny, a decree, which they believed eternal and uncontrollable, even by the will of their gods.

This medley of different religions, in which every one imagined he saw the traces of his former belief, misled several citizens of Mecca; and such was the art and contrivance of the impostor, that he endeavoured to establish his errors by the profession of some great truths, and the seeming practice of as great virtues. The magistrate of Mecca being alarmed at the progress of this sect, proscribed the author and all that adhered to him; upon which the false prophet fled to another city of Arabia Petræa, called Yatrib, which he afterwards named Medina-al-nabi, or the city of the prophet. This flight, so famous among the Mahometans, and called in their language the Hegira, served their historians afterwards for the æra of their chronology. And the first year of the * Mussulman period, according to the most received opinion, falls upon the twenty-second year of the seventh century.

Mahomet being convinced, by the risk he had run at Mecca, that persuasion alone was not the way to accomplish his ambitious designs, resolved to have recourse to arms. The impostor did not fail to summon heaven to his assistance; and it was not long before he gave out, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a sword from God, with orders to subdue all such as should refuse to embrace his new religion.

* Note, the Mussulman year consists of twelve lunar months, which is only three hundred and fifty-four days; so that thirty-three of our years is very near thirty-four of theirs.

KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

We are not to look elsewhere for the cause of that astonishing progress, which, in so short a time, this impious sect made in Arabia, and afterwards in the greatest part of the lesser Asia. And it is highly probable, that if Mahomet could have foreseen as much, he would have spared himself the pains of forging so many revelations, and adjusting so great a number of materials, borrowed from other religions. This armed apostle began this new kind of mission with invading his neighbours. The lure of plunder, which has so many charms in the eyes of the Arabians, drew a great number to his standard. No caravan could pass near his quarters without being exposed to pillage; and by acting the robber, he insensibly attained to the fortune of a conqueror. Of his soldiers and vanquished enemies he made new disciples, whom he called Mussulmen, that is to say, Believers, or such as are entered into the way of salvation. Being now as great a soldier as he was an eloquent preacher, he soon made himself master of Mecca, and most of the fortified towns and castles of Arabia yielded to the force of his arms *. He was seconded in these wars by Abubekre his father-in-law, by Aly his cousin and son-in law, and by Omar and Otman, all four his apostles and principal officers, fanatics in good earnest, and who became the willing subjects of an impostor, to whom they had at first been only disciples. Mahomet, by his courage and conduct was enabled to unite the sacerdotal with the imperial authority in his own person, and in the space of twenty-three years of his pretended a- 633 or postolate, others say in ten, almost all A- 632. rabia was reduced under his dominion, and at the same time had embraced his new religion.

The false prophet, at his death, had nominated Aly, his daughter Fatima's husband, for his suc-

* Alc. c. 4. Cantacuzeni erat. 1. sect. 12.

cessor : but Mahomet's son-in law found, by experience, that the last wills of the most absolute princes are generally buried in their graves. Abubekre, being much older than Aly, was preferred before him by the interest of Omar and Otman, who, by making choice of a man in years, opened themselves a passage in their turn to the same dignity. This election of Abubekre gave rise afterwards to schisms and civil wars among the Mahometans. The successors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, i. e. vicars of the prophet, or of Almoumenians, i. e. princes or commanders of the faithful. These first successors, full of that fire and zeal which a new religion always inspires, spread the doctrine of their master, and extended their own dominion into different countries, the one not advancing a step without the other. It was not long before they finished the conquest of Arabia, and drove out the Persians and Greeks. From the latter, they afterwards took Damascus, Antioch, and all Syria, invaded Palestine, carried Jerusalem, marched into Egypt, and subdued it, absolutely destroyed the Persian monarchy, and made themselves masters of Media, Corassan or Bactriana, Diarbeick or Mesopotamia. Then they carried the war into Africa, where they made as surprizing a progress as ever, and subdued all the country that lies west of Egypt.

Not to mention the isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, Malta and Goza, which they either ravaged or made themselves masters of, nor Spain, where the Arabians, in the beginning of the eight century, founded a new empire upon the ruins of the Gothick monarchy; great provinces of France, situated beyond the Loire, were exposed to the fury of their arms; and if it had not been for the incomparable bravery and valour of Charles Martel, the fate and fortune of this kingdom would have been no better than that of Spain. In a word, they

threatened the whole world with their chains. And the miserable remains of the Greek empire would not at that time have been able to hold out against so formidable a power, if the heads of that nation had not quarrelled among themselves. But the governors of provinces being too powerful for private men, assumed a sovereign authority over them. We have seen, in different parts of Asia and Africa, and at different times, no less than five caliphs, all pretending to be the off-spring of Mahomet, and the genuine interpreters of the law. Again, most of these caliphs being buried afterwards in luxury and effeminacy, left the civil and military government of their states to emirs or sultans, a sort of mayors of the palace, who, in a short time, made themselves absolute masters of them, and for the most part left the caliphs nothing but the inspection of religious affairs, the privilege of being named *first* in the public prayers, and some other ceremonial honours, without any power or authority,

Of all the conquests gained by these infidels, none more sensibly affected the Christians, than that of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. From the time of Constantine the Great, when christianity became the religion of the empire, that was the most noted pilgrimage of all christendom. The Greek and Latin Christians, out of a pious persuasion that their greatest sins would be remitted at the feet of Christ's tomb, were, with equal eagerness, continually flocking to Jerusalem; and the rather, in that there was till then a secure and easy access to it through the territories of the empire. The revolution which had lately happened altered the case exceedingly; and the infidels though they revered Jesus Christ as a great prophet, yet, to raise their revenues, they laid a sort of tribute upon all foreign pilgrims, that came out of devotion to the holy sepulchre. But this oppression was not sufficient to cool the zeal of the Christians of that age: there was for near three hun-

dred years the same resort of the Christian nations, even from the remotest parts of the west. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, the caliphs or sultans of Egypt, who were then masters of Palestine, allowed the Greek Christians, who were their subjects, to settle in Jerusalem; and that they might not be intermixed with the Mussulmen, the governor of that capital of Judea assigned them the quarter nearest the holy sepulchre for their abode.

The renown of the emperor Charlemagne's conquest and power spreading from Europe into Asia, the Caliph Aaron Raschid, one of the most potent princes of the east, permitted the French, out of regard to him, to have a house of their own in the holy city for the entertainment of such pilgrims as were of that nation. Eginard relates, that the patriarch of Jerusalem sent that great prince, in the caliph's name, the keys of the holy sepulchre, and of the church of mount Calvary, with a standard which the famous Abbe Fleury, the late writer of ecclesiastical history, is of opinion was meant as a mark of the power and authority which Aaron had resigned to that christian prince. Another modern writer * learned in our antiquities, in the thirty seventh book of the annals of his order, tells us of one Bernard, a French monk, who lived in A. D. 870, and who, in his account of a voyage made to Jerusalem, relates, that he found there an hospital for the Latins, and that in the same house was a library, collected by the care and at the expence of the emperor Charlemagne.

But after the death of the Caliph Aaron and his first successors, as those of Charlemagne did not come up to him either in power or reputation, the French lost the regard that had been formerly paid them in Palestine. They were no longer al-

lowed to have any house of entertainment in Jerusalem; and though, like the other nations of Europe, they had, by virtue of their money, admittance into the holy city, and in the day time made their stations in all the places antiently honoured with the presence and mysteries of our divine Saviour; yet, in the evening and night time, it was not without great difficulty as well as danger, that they could find any place to retire to in the city. The Mussulmen had naturally too great an aversion for the Christians to receive them into their houses: and some disputes that had started up in relation to doctrines not rightly understood, as well as some differences in point of discipline, having, in a manner, put an end to all union between the Greek and Latin churches, our European Christians were scarce less odious to the Greeks than they were to the Arabians and Sarazens of the east.

In the middle of the eleventh century, some Italian merchants, who had experienced the inhumanity of both the one and the other, undertook to procure an asylum for the European pilgrims, in the very city of Jerusalem, where they might have nothing to fear either from the false zeal of the Mahometans, or the enmity and aversion of the schismatical Greeks. These pious merchants were of Amalphy, a city in the kingdom of Naples, but at that time subject to the Greek emperors of Constantinople. Their affairs, in regard to trade and commerce, called them almost every year into Egypt, where, by means of their rich merchandizes, as well as some curious pieces of workmanship which they brought thither from Europe, they were introduced to the court of the caliph Mostafer-billah; and distributing some considerable presents among his domesticks and ministers, they obtained leave for the Latin Christians to, build a

house of entertainment near the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The governor, by that prince's order, 1048 assigned them a piece of ground, on which they built a chapel, and dedicated it to the blessed virgin by the name of St. Mary ad Latinos, to distinguish it from the churches where divine service was celebrated according to the Greek ritual; some monks of the Benedictine order officiated in it. Near their convent they built two houses of entertainment for the reception of pilgrims of both sexes, whether in health or sickness which was the chief view in this foundation; and each house had afterwards a chapel in it, the one dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and the other to St. Magdalen.

Some lay-persons from Europe, full of zeal and charity, renouncing the thoughts of returning into their own country, devoted themselves in this religious house to the service of the poor and pilgrims, and were subsisted by the monks above mentioned: and the merchants of Amalphy, out of the alms which they collected in Italy, and either brought or sent regularly every year to the Holy Land, supplied the wants of the pilgrims or sick. That sacred trust of the charity of the faithful they remitted into the hands of persons, consecrated, as we have said, to the service of the Christians of the west. This holy house, governed by the Benedictine monks, and which may be looked upon as the cradle of the order of St. John, served afterwards for a place of security and retreat for pilgrims. The Latin Christians were there entertained and provided for, without any distinction of nation or condition. There they cloathed again such as had been stripped by robbers; there the sick were treated with care, and every kind of misery found in the charity of

of these Hospitallers, a new kind of mercy to relieve it. *

Yet this pious and useful foundation had like to have been ruined in its very infancy, and it hardly subsisted seventeen years, when the Turcomans conquered Palestine, surprized the city 1065. of Jerusalem, and cut the caliph of Egypt's garrison in pieces

These barbarians came out of the heart of Tartary. 'Tis said that they were originally inhabitants of that part of the Asiatick Sarmatia, which lies between mount Caucasus, the river Tanais, the Palus Mæotis, and the Caspian sea. They afterwards crossed the Wolga, traversed all the northern coast of the Caspian sea, and settled in that part of Tartary which runs between several branches of mount Imaus and along the side of the river Iaxartes; a country still called from them Turquestan. Historians are not agreed whether it was the Greek emperors, or the kings of Persia, that first brought them in to that part of Asia, and called them in to their assistance. What appears more certain is, that some officers of that nation entered afterwards into the pay of the Arabians or Sarazens, who, to keep them in their service, after they had made themselves masters of Persia, assigned them lands in those great provinces, where they settled from that time with their families. It seems they had scarce any religion besides a confused notion of a first being, creator of heaven and earth, author, as they said, of life and death, who sent health or sickness to men according to his own good pleasure. No such thing as divine worship was known among them; only in their sickness they had recourse to some magicians, a sort of priests, who, after exacting presents from them, and using some senseless conjuring tricks, persuaded them that they appeas-

* Willhelm. Tyrrensis. hist. l. i.

ed the angry deity for them. This colony, out of complaisance to their new masters, turned afterwards Mahometans, and in time multiplying exceedingly, they shook off the yoke of the Arabians, but without quitting their religion, in which the greatest part of them had been bred. Other tribes and people of the same nation passing the Iaxartes, and traversing the Mauralnahar, joined themselves to these first comers, made their way to the banks of the Oxus, and advanced even into Corosan.

All these Turcomans thus re-united together, levied vast armies, and chose three generals to command them, all taken out of the same family, and descended from one Salguez, whose memory they held in singular veneration. The first of these generals was Togrul-beg. Sprung as he was out of the midst of a savage nation, he had nothing of the barbarian in him, but boldness and ignorance, or a contempt of dangers. He was protute in his recompences to his soldiers, cruel in his punishments of those who had shewed a want of courage, and was therefore revered by a nation, among whom the art of making one's self dreaded was of more weight than all the virtues put together. This was the prince, who in 1055, under the title of chief of the emirs, or sultan, made himself master of Bagdat, and of the great empire of the Arabian caliphs. Jafer-bei or Jafer-beg his cousin, chief of the second branch, seized on his side upon Quirman, and the vast tracts of country which lye towards the Persian sea and the Indies. Cultumises, another cousin of Togrul-beg and Jafer, had advanced before them, and A. D. 1050, had made the greatest part of the lesser Asia or Anatolia acknowledge him for their sovereign, and fixed the seat of his empire at Iconium. Togrul-beg dying without issue about A. D. 1063, Alubaislan, his nephew and successor, kept up the dig-

nity of sultan with no less valour than his uncle. This prince gaining a signal victory over the Greeks, took the emperor Diogenes prisoner upon that occasion. It is said, that the son of Alubarflan, called Gelaledin, was the most powerful of these Selgeucidian * princes, and that his empire extended from the farthest provinces of Turquestan to Jerusalem, and even to the borders of Arabia Felix: a new revolution this in Asia, carried on with a rapidity not inferior or less surprising than that which the Arabians had brought about four hundred years before. It was the lieutenants of Gelaledin, surnamed Malefcha, who, after reducing Syria, chased the Sarazens out of Palestine and in 1065 seized on the city of Jerusalem.

No description can reach all the cruelties which they committed there: the garrison of the caliph of Egypt was cut in pieces, as I said before. The inhabitants and the Christians scarce met with a better fate: numbers of them were butchered; the hospital of St. John was plundered, and these barbarians, fierce and cruel in their nature, would have destroyed the holy sepulchre, had not their avarice restrained their impiety. The fear of losing the revenues raised upon the pilgrims of the west, preserved the tomb of our Saviour†. But these infidels, to gratify at once their avarice and their hatred to every thing that bore the name of Christian, loaded them with heavier tributes; so that the pilgrims, after having spent all their money in the course of so long a voyage, or being stripped by robbers, and worn out with hunger and miseries of all sorts, at last, for want of ability to discharge such excessive tributes, perished at the gates of Jerusalem,

* Or Selzuccian.

† Soli etiam Dominici sepulcri templo, ejusque cultoribus christianis parcebant, propter tributa quæ ex oblatione fidelium assidue eis fideliterque solvebantur, unæ cum ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ ad Latino: quæ etiam tributaria erat. Alb. Aquens. l. 6, p. 281.

out being able to obtain of these barbarians the consolation only of seeing, before they expired, the holy sepulchre, the only object of their vows, and the end of so tedious a pilgrimage.

Such as escaped from under these cruel oppressions, did not fail at their return to Europe to give sad descriptions of them. They represented in the most moving colours the indignity of suffering the holy places to remain under the dominion of infidels. But the power of these barbarians was so formidable, the Greek empire so weakened, and moreover the princes of Europe so remote and disunited among themselves, that the delivery of Jerusalem was looked upon as an impracticable attempt.

Yet a single man called Peter the Hermit, of the diocese of Amiens, who had himself experienced part of the miseries before mentioned, formed the bold design of recovering the Holy Land into the hands of the christian princes. He first addressed himself to Simeon the Greek patriarch, a prelate of great piety. And as the hermit founded part of his views upon the eastern Christians, and the power of the Greek empire, the patriarch replied, he saw plainly that he spoke of the forces of that empire as a stranger, and without knowing them; adding, that nothing was now left of that great title but an empty name, and a dignity without power; that the Turcomans, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperors, and of the divisions and intestine wars that were continually breaking out in the empire, had lately seized on most of the provinces situated upon the coast of the Euxine sea, and, as a monument of their victories, had given them the name of Turcomania; that the other provinces of the empire were ravaged in their turns, sometimes by the inroads of barbarians, and frequently for want of pay, by the very christian troops placed there for their defence; that the grandees of the empire,

empire, in hopes of mounting the throne, had most of them no other thought than how to raise seditions in the imperial city, or debauch the armies into rebellion; that the empresses, who never reckoned chastity among the virtues, had often made the imperial dignity serve as a recompence to their adulterers; that even the eunuchs of the palace, monsters that are neither men nor women, had, by their interest and intrigues, a great share in these revolutions, and that within thirty years past they had seen no less than ten emperors upon the throne of the great Constantine, most of whom ended their reign by a tragical death, or at least with the loss of their eyes; and if any were suffered to live or enjoy the use of their sight, it was only because they were despised to such a degree, that being sent to a monastery, they were not reckoned any longer in the number of the living; that the emperor Michael Ducat, surnamed Parapinaces, had been dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates; and the usurper, to secure the crown to himself, had made prince Constantine Ducas (eldest son of Michael, and husband to Helena, daughter of Guiscard the Norman) an eunuch; that the emperor Alexis Comnenus, who was then upon the throne, had made his way to it by the like treacheries, and by rebelling against Botoniates, whom he had deposed in his turn; that this new emperor was indeed a man of capacity, but more feared by his subjects than by his neighbours; and that, after all, so far was any one from having reason to flatter himself with the sufficiency of this prince's power to settle the Christians again in Jerusalem, that he was hard put to it to stop the progress of the arms of the Turcomans, who had lately seized on Nice, which the Selgeucidians of the third dynasty had made the capital of that particular monarchy; that in another quarter, Alexis was engaged in war with Robert Guiscard, count or duke of Calabria, and Bohemund his son, Norman princes,

princes, and irreconcilable enemies to the Greeks; that they had taken the field and ravaged the territories of the empire, to revenge themselves on Alexis for his imprisonment and cruel usage of the princess Helena, daughter to Guiscard, and wife to Constantine Ducas; that these two Norman princes, enraged at his perfidiousness, and for the delivery of the princess, had invaded Thrace, cut Alexis's armies in pieces, and would have dethroned him in his turn, had not other affairs, which they were obliged to attend, called them back for a time into Italy; but that the emperor was in continual apprehensions that the thunderbolt to hurl him from his throne would be lanced from that house.

The patriarch from this discourse concluded, that in order to deliver the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels, no assistance was to be expected from the Greeks, and that nothing but a league of the Latin princes could make so difficult an enterprize succeed. This proposal startled the hermit; but far from abating his zeal, though he foresaw all the difficulties attending it, he still flattered himself that they might be got over with the assistance and protection of the pope. The patriarch by his advice wrote to the head of the church in the most moving terms. The hermit undertook to deliver his letters, took shipping at the port of Joppa or Jafa, arrived in Italy, presented the patriarch's letters to the pope, and laid before him, with tears in his eyes, the miserable condition that the Christians of Jerusalem were reduced to. He added, that the Arabians or Sarazens had built a mosque upon the old ruins of the famous temple of Solomon; that the venerable church of the holy sepulchre, under the dominion of the Turcomans, was every moment in danger of the like profanation; that the Christian women and virgins were often exposed to the brutality of those barbarians; and if any youths fell into their power, they had reason to be afraid of

infamies

infamies more insupportable than death itself; in fine, that the Holy Land, watered formerly with the precious blood of the Saviour of mankind, was entirely reduced under their tyranny; yet it was not impossible to rescue it from that scandalous slavery, would he but vouchsafe to engage most of the European princes in an enterprize so worthy of his zeal and piety.

The pope that the hermit applied to was Urban II. a Frenchman by birth, and born at Chatillon on the Marne. Though the air and habit of a single hermit did not prepossess him in his favour; yet his holiness heard him out with much humanity, and was the less surprized at the greatness of his project, because pope Gregory VII. a pontiff who imagined himself to be the sovereign of kings, and whose vast attempts had no bounds, had likewise formed a design of obliging all the christian princes by his authority to take up arms against the Mahometans. Urban, who, upon the death of Victor III. had just succeeded him, had no less zeal than he; but being more regular in his views, he did not think it proper to declare himself, till he had first sounded the disposition, and examined into the forces of the princes of Europe. This prudent conduct was founded upon the general discontent which the emperors and monarchs of Christendom had shewn at the odious pretensions of Gregory, who, under colour of a spiritual authority, which they could not dispute, had attempted to reduce all sovereign princes to the condition of his tributaries and vassals. Urban, it is likely, was very sensible, that at a time of so much uneasiness and discontent, when every thing that came from the court of Rome might be suspected of a secret ambition, it was not proper to make use of his own name and authority openly to oblige the christian princes to take up arms, for fear the design should miscarry. He resolved therefore first to have only the necessity and merit of it recommended.

recommended from the pulpit. With this view, calling the hermit, and extolling highly his zeal, he exhorted him to travel over most of the provinces of Christendom, and stir up sovereigns and their subjects to arm for rescuing the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels; and the pope, at taking leave, gave him to understand, that if his mission succeeded well, they might depend on the spiritual treasures of the church, and even powerful succours of men and money should not be wanting to those who would engage in so holy an enterprise.

The hermit, dismissed with his holiness's blessing, traversed all Europe in less than a year's time. Where-ever he went he put every thing in motion: the tragical descriptions that he gave of the profanation of the holy places; his lively and pathetick exhortations; his long and uncouth beard; his walking barefoot; his austere life; his excessive abstinence, and even the money which he received only to give away immediately to the poor; all this made him be regarded as a saint and a prophet, and the great world as well as the populace, burnt with impatience to go to the Holy Land to revenge the outrages of the infidels upon Jesus Christ.

1095.

The pope having notice of this surprising success, resolved to declare himself. He called two councils the same year, one at Placentia in Italy, the other at Clermont in Auvergne. At the council of Placentia there were no less than four thousand ecclesiastics, and more than thirty thousand laity of different conditions; but what was still more extraordinary, was to see, (during the schism) some Greek ambassadors there. The emperor Alexi Comnenus had sent them to implore the assistance of the Latins against the Turcomans, who, after seizing on the city of Nice, threatened Calcedon, and even Constantinople itself, with a

siege.

siege. The pope took occasion from this embassy to bewail the miseries of the east, and especially of Palestine, which was fallen under the slavery of those barbarians. At the account given by these ambassadors of their cruelties, the whole assembly rang with indignation and rage. A thousand confused voices were heard, crying out, that they must go and defend their brethren in Christ Jesus. The pope exhorted them to remember this their generous resolution when the proper time came for putting it in execution.

The same zeal distinguished itself in the council of Clermont; where were present a great number of prelates, princes and nobility, most of them French, or vassals of the crown of France. After a discourse infinitely moving, made by the pope to persuade the Christians to an expedition for delivering the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Mahometans, the whole assembly cried out as it were by concert, *Dieu le veut, Dieu le veut, [God will have it so; God will have it so;]* and these three words served afterwards for a device and shout of war in the army: and for the distinguishing of such as engaged in this holy enterprize, it was ordered, that they should wear a red cross on their right shoulder.

As soon as the council was broke up, the bishops who had assisted at it, returning to their dioceses, began to preach the crusade, and did it with such success, that all the world was for taking the voyage of Asia. It looked as if there had been no other way to heaven but this; they strove who should set out first; princes, lords, gentlemen, citizens and peasants, every one quitted with joy what he held most dear, wife, children and parents, so true is it, that men seem only made to imitate one another.

In truth, all that took upon them the crusade were not led by the same motives: several went in-

to the east only out of interested views, and in hopes of settling there; some enrolled themselves in this holy militia, only to avoid the imputation of cowardice; others engaged in it out of levity, for company, and because they would not part with their relations and friends. The very women did the same, that they might not be separated from their lovers; in a word, the monk and the recluse tired out with their cells, the peasant weary of his labour, all blinded by the feeble glittering of a false zeal, abandoned their station and former calling; all which in truth formed a prodigious number of crusaders. But amidst this multitude of people of various conditions, there were men indeed in abundance, yet but few soldiers; and such an enterprize would have miscarried in its very infancy, even before the militia of the crusade had got out of Europe, had they not been sustained by great bodies of regular troops, commanded by princes and lords of consummate valour and experience, and animated by a pure zeal for delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels.

Among these lords were reckoned up * Raimond of St. Giles, count of Thoulouse, the first who took the cross, and who had already signalized himself in Spain, at the head of the armies of Alphonso VI. against the Arabians and Sarazens of Africa; Hugh surnamed the Great, brother to Philip I king of France, and count of Vermandois in right of his wife; Robert, Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus, king of England; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois; Godfrey of Boulogne, count of the lower Lorraine or Brabant, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Baldwin du Bourg their cousin, and son to the Count of Retel, besides a great number of other lords and gentlemen, most of them

* Bald. ic.

subjects or vassals of the crown of France, who sold their cattle and lands on that occasion, to furnish the expence of this armament.

None of the kings of Europe appeared in this first expedition. Henry IV. son of Conrad II. surnamed the Salique, was at that time emperor of Germany : and whether we consider his dignity, or reflect upon his singular bravery, his great experience in the command of his armies and forces, there was not in all Christendom a prince more worthy to be at the head of the crusade. But in all appearance he was detained in his own dominions by the differences which had broke out between the popes and emperors, and had for more than fifty years been tearing the church and the empire in pieces. The form of giving investiture of the great ecclesiastical dignities was the pretence ; but the sovereignty of Rome and Italy was the true reason of these differences. The popes, placed in that high degree of temporal power, to which the liberality of the kings of France had raised them, could not bear to hear speak of the rights which the kings of the Romans and the emperors of the west had exercised formerly in Rome, and over the rest of Italy. Hence arose schisms, wars and insurrections, which hindered the emperor from leaving Germany and the centre of his dominions. The effeminacy and a criminal attachment which Philip I. king of France, had for Bertrade, wife of Fulk-le-Rechin, count of Anjou, detained him in his kingdom. To say nothing of William Rufus, king of England, son of William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, who had conquered the English, a haughty and restless nation, jealous of their liberty, and impatient of any government, more especially of a foreign one ; so that to be absent at such a distance, in the beginning of a new reign, would have been contrary to all the rules of prudence. As for the kings of Castile, Arragon and Navarre, they

were too much taken up in defending their own dominions from the Arabians and Saracens of Spain, to dream of any other enterprizes.

Spain, since the invasion of the Sarazens, was become as it were the theatre of a continual crusade; and the bravest of all the European nobility repaired ordinarily thither, to make their first essay in arms against those infidels. In this armament therefore for the Holy Land, there were scarce any, but private princes and French lords, whose fathers, or at most their grandfathers, taking advantage of the decline of the house of Charlemagne, and by virtue of their feoffments, had, from private governor of cities or provinces, erected themselves insensibly into sovereigns of their governments. Such was the origin of the many principalities, which at the end of the second, and beginning of the third race, had dismembered this powerful monarchy.

1096. In the mean time, the princes who had taken the cross began their march from all parts. The Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, commonwealths powerful at sea, transported part of them into Greece. The general rendezvous was in the plains near Constantinople. The famous Bohemund, who had already made war with such glorious success upon the Saracens, and even upon the emperor Alexis, was at that time besieging a castle in the Terra di Lavoro with count Roger his uncle. No sooner did he receive the first news of the crusade; with the number and quality of the principal lords engaged in it, than, transported with zeal, and seized as it were with a pious rage, he cut in pieces his coat of arms, and made it into crosses, taking the first himself, and distributing the rest to his principal officers. Among these lords were the brave Tancred his nephew, the counts Ranulph and Richard his cousins, Herman de Cani, Humfrey son of Rodolph, Robert de Sourdeval,

Sourdeval, and a great number of other gentlemen, all Normans by birth or descent, whose fathers or themselves had, at the expence of the Saracens and Greeks, made considerable settlements in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. As these illustrious adventurers, or their descendants, will bear a great part in the course of this history, we think ourselves obliged to give a short account, on what occasion they transported themselves from the heart of Normandy, and settled in the lower Italy.

About the year 1000 or 1003, forty Norman gentlemen, all warriors, who had signalized themselves in the armies of the dukes of Normandy, returning from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, arrived in Italy without arms, and only with their staff and chaplet, the usual equipage of pilgrims, and which our kings themselves in the following crusades went to receive at St. Dennis. These Norman pilgrims hearing that the town of Salerno was besieged by the Sarazens, were prompted by a religious zeal to throw themselves into the place. Guimard was prince of it, and invested in it. He furnished them with arms and horses; and these strangers made so many unexpected and vigorous sallies upon the infidels, that they obliged them to raise the siege. The prince of Salerno, admiring the bravery of these Normans, and their skill in the art of war, offered them rich presents, and made a proposal of considerable settlements, in order to retain them in his service. But those gentlemen, called home by the love we naturally bear to our country, refused every thing that was offered them; and told them they had no other view in taking up arms, but the glory of God and the defence of religion. Upon their departure, Guimard is said to have sent deputies after them, who, to excite the zeal and courage of the Norman gentry, and to engage them to come and settle in Italy, carried into that province stuffs of great value,

magnificent furniture for horses, and even pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and almonds, which they presented to several gentlemen, as a proof of the mildness of their climate, and the goodness of the soil, wherein they had the offer of lands and castles *.

A great number of the Normans, tempted by the promises of these envoys, took their wives and children, and bid adieu to their country; and during this whole century, some or other of that nation were continually passing into Italy. The most considerable of them were the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Coutance in the lower Normandy. He had twelve sons, all bearing arms: The eldest, who served as a leader to these adventurers, was called William, and surnamed Bras de fer, or iron arm, on account of his great strength and valour. Drogon or Dreux was the second; Humfrey the third; Herman, Robert and Roger were the three last. History has not conveyed to us the names of the other sons of Tancred, and we do not so much as know, whether they passed into Italy.

There were in this country three sorts of governments, that of some little princes, the old remains of the Lombards, and independent one of another: A second canton was subject to the Greek emperors; but the Sarazens had usurped the greater part of it. The sons of Hauteville soon formed a third power, which swallowed up all the rest. The Italians and Greeks were, as we have observed, the people who had called them into their succour against the Sarazens.

The Normans of Italy, united together under the banner of the sons of Hauteville, entered into the service of the Greeks, carried towns, won battles, and by their heroick actions, drove the infidels out of most of the places which they were pos-

* Guill. Gemet, l. 7.

finished off. But they were ill recompensed for it. The Greeks, who had called them in to their succour, inconstant and jealous of the power they insensibly acquired in the country, made use of the worst of treacheries to destroy the leaders of that nation. The sons of Hauteville were under a necessity of standing upon their defence against such scoundrel enemies, and did it with their usual valour, and such a train of success, that after numberless fatigues, dangers and engagements, they took Calabria, Apulia and Sicily from the Greeks; and perhaps were not sorry to have been furnished with the pretence of an advantageous vengeance, and the opportunity of seizing on those rich countries. Upon this they divided those great provinces between them: Robert Guiscard had the county of Calabria, and was afterwards the most powerful of all the brothers: He was called Guiscard, on account of his dexterity, and the stratagems that he used in war; and we are now going to see Prince Bohemund his eldest son, so formidable already to the Greeks for his valour, distinguish himself as much against the infidels by his conduct and management, and acquire a new glory in the east.

This prince, before his departure, and in view of making a powerful acquisition in Asia, resigned his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, named Roger after his uncle; reserving to himself no other resource but the city of Tarento, and the hopes of making new conquests in the east. After this he crossed the sea, at the head of ten thousand horse, and a great body of foot, and upon his landing, advanced towards Constantinople, in order to join the other troops of the crusade. The pope wrote at the same time to the emperor of Constantinople, that above three hundred thousand men were marching to his succour, and to deliver the holy places out of the hands of the infidels. He mentioned to him the principal chieftains of the

crusade, and exhorted him to be expeditious in giving the necessary orders for the subsistence of these troops. They arrived in rank and file successively from different places; and at a general review, made in the plains of Constantinople, they mustered an hundred thousand horse, and no less than six hundred thousand foot, including priests, monks, and in infinite number of women in men's cloaths, most of which, to the scandal of Christianity, prostituted themselves to the soldiers.

The Greek emperor, instead of a competent succour which he had asked, was strangely surprized to see his dominions over-run with such innumerable troops, as were in a condition to prescribe to him in the very capital of his own empire. Alexis was more particularly afraid of Bohemund, whose valour and conduct he had felt; and to get rid of these allies, more terrible to him than open enemies, he resolved to gain the chiefs by caresses and presents, and at the same time to leave no stone untried to cut off provisions from the soldiers, and destroy such as strolled from their colours in search of them. By this artful conduct, without declaring himself openly, he did the Latins more mischief, than all the forces of the Turcomans put together.

By his orders, they carried every day presents and refreshments to the princes of the crusade; nay, to remove all kind of suspicion, he would needs engage himself in it: he took the badge with great solemnity, and, by a treaty with the European princes, obliged himself to join his fleet with that of the Latins; to furnish them with provisions as far as Jerusalem, and to repair in person to the main body of the army, at the head of his troops, in order to act in concert against the infidels, whether Turcomans, Arabians, or Sarazens.

Those of the crusade, blinded by these fine promises, agreed, on the other hand, to restore him
Nice,

Nice, which the Turcomans had lately seized, and such other places belonging to the empire as they should recover from the barbarians; or at least, in case the Latins were for keeping them, it was agreed that they should do homage to him for them. In pursuance of this treaty, several western lords, hoping to make themselves masters of some principalities in the east, took the oath of fidelity to him beforehand.

The emperor, notwithstanding these precautions, being still uneasy to see a formidable army at the gates of his capital, and in a condition to prescribe to him what terms they pleased even in his own palace, was continually pressing the chiefs to lose no time in entering Bithynia, that, as he pretended, they might surprise and get the start of the infidels: he even furnished them with a great number of transports for that purpose. The princes, deceived by this appearance of zeal for the common cause, passed the Bosphorus, and, after some days march, invested Nice. Soliman the May 14. Turcoman of the Selgeucidian race, a 1097. relation of Togrul-beg, and sultan of Iconium, had thrown a strong garrison into Nice*. The attack was brisk, and the defence very obstinate; the Turcomans disputed the ground inch by inch, and only yielded to a formidable power, which no place seemed able to hold out against. The governor, after a siege of thirty-four days, surrendered Nice to the Latin Christians, who, pursuant to their treaty with the Greek emperor, fairly delivered it up to the officers of June 20. that prince, with the wife and children of Soliman, who, by the capitulation, remained prisoners of war.

Alexis was not so much affected with the taking of Nice, as he was alarmed at the valour and con-

* Bibl. orient. p. 822.

rage which those of the crusade had shewn in the attack. He made no question but they would soon subdue the greater part of Asia; and were he to chuse his neighbours, he was for those that he thought the weakest, and no longer dreamed of any thing but making a secret alliance with the infidels, to traverse the conquests of the Latin Christians, which now appeared to him the more formidable of the two.

With this view he restored Soliman his wife and children, as an earnest of the friendship he was desirous to contract with him. They entered into a strict alliance; and the perfidious Greek, in execution of this secret treaty, far from going in person to the Christian army, supplying it with provisions, or joining his fleet to that of the Latins, according to his engagements in the treaty of Constantinople, gave private orders to the generals of his army to keep close to that of the Latins; and his troops, in concert with those of Soliman, cut in pieces the soldiers that straggled, either to seek provisions, or to go a foraging.

The sultan did not rely so entirely on the treaty he had just made with the emperor, but that he thought at the same time of procuring such succours as were more to be depended on. For this purpose he made application to the sultans of Antioch, Aleppo, Bagdat, and Persia, all princes of his own nation, of the same house, and interested as neighbours to prevent his ruin. These princes immediately levied vast armies; and if, on the one hand, all France in a manner had passed into the east with those of the crusade, it looked, on the other hand, as if the greatest part of Asia had taken up arms on this occasion.

So general and vast an armament alarmed the caliph of Egypt, whose empire extended into Syria, and as far as Laodicea. This prince, an Arabian by descent, and chief of the sect of Ali, fearing
least

least the Turcomans, who acknowledged the caliph of Bagdat for their head in spirituals, should, under pretence of opposing the Latin Christians, turn their arms against him, sent ambassadors to the princes of the crusade, to propose a league against all the Turcomans. And as he was sensible that the conquest of Jerusalem was the main view of the Christian army, it was stipulated by a treaty, that he should declare himself against their common enemies; that each of them should separately attack the Turcomans; that the capital of Judea should, with all its dependencies, be put into the hands of the Latin Christians; that, for his part, he should resume the possession of the other places which the Turcomans had taken from him; and if they extended their conquests to the territories of the enemy, they should be divided equally between them*.

The christian princes having signed this treaty, sent it back to the caliph by his ambassadors, together with others from themselves, to assist in their name at the ratification of it.

But the politick caliph, who was for regulating his conduct by events, detained the ambassadors at his court upon various pretences, to see, before he declared himself more openly, on which side the victory would turn.

By the treaty between the princes of the crusade and the emperor Alexis, they were obliged, as we have said, to put into his hands all such imperial towns as they should take from the infidels, or else to hold them of him as his vassals: and the emperor, for his part, was to send his troops to the main body of the army, and supply the Latins with provisions till the taking of Jerusalem.

But as the Greek prince openly broke his word, the princes of the crusade thought themselves dis-

* Raymond d'Agil.

charged of their engagements. These princes, after the taking of Nice, continued their march and their conquests, dividing their troops for their more easy subsistence. Those who commanded these different bodies, seized on most of the towns in Anatolia. All Cilicia fell before them : Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, made himself master of the county of Edessa, the people whereof, though subject to the Turcomans, were most of them Christians ; and, to strengthen himself against the infidels, he struck up an alliance with an Armenian prince, and married his niece.

Oct. 21. The main army of the Latins advancing into Syria, marched up to Antioch, and invested it. There was in the city a compleat army for a garrison ; and several bodies of Turks coming up to relieve the place, kept the Christians themselves in a manner besieged. The siege of Antioch at the end of seventh months was scarce farther advanced than it was the first day, and they would have been obliged to rise up, had it not been for the contrivance of Bohemund, who gained one of the chief inhabitants. By means of this intelligence one of the gates was opened to him, and this prince, at the head of the troops which he commanded, first entered the place, and planted his standards on the towers of Antioch. The princes of the crusade, in requital, granted him the sovereignty of it, and he preserved afterwards by his valour, a principality that he had acquired by his management ; a prince young and handsome, of a ready capacity and insinuating behaviour, as great a politician as he was a soldier, and of whom the princess Anna, in the history of her father the emperor Alexis, says so many good things, and at the same time so many bad ones ; both perhaps because she liked him too well.

The

The taking of Antioch, and a signal victory gained by Bohemund over Querbouca, general of Berearuc, sultan of Persia, and son of Gellaleden, opened a free passage to the conquest of Jerusalem. But the caliph of Egypt was beforehand with the Christians. That infidel prince, taking advantage of the confusion the Selgeucidians were in, took the field, and recovered the capital of Judea, which the Turcomans had seized about thirty-eight years before. June 28, 1098.

The caliph of Egypt, seeing the Christians and Turcomans equally weakened by such a number of sieges and engagements, found his interests had changed with his fortune. He sent their ambassadors back to the princes of the crusade, without thinking fit to ratify the treaty concluded with his ministers; and charged the christian ambassadors to tell their masters, that having been happy enough to recover with his own forces alone a place which his predecessors were in possession of more than four hundred years, he knew very well how to keep it without any foreign succour: but the gates of it should be always open to christian pilgrims, provided they came thither but in small numbers, and without arms.

The princes of the crusade resenting this breach of faith, and giving themselves little disturbance about his power, sent him word, that with the same keys with which they had opened the gates of Nice, Antioch, Tarsus, and Edessa, they knew how to open those of Jerusalem: And after refreshing their troops during the winter season and part of the spring, they marched straight to Jerusalem, and arrived there the seventh of June, A. D. 1099. 1099. June 7.

Of that infinite number of the crusade which set out from Europe, which amounted to near seven hundred thousand men, the greatest part had either perished

perished in the field, were carried off by sickness or had deserted their colours, without reckoning the garrisons they were obliged to leave in Cilicia the county of Edeſſo, and principality of Antioch ſo that there hardly remained twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe fit for ſervice.

The caliph, or rather Aladin, ſultan and general of the caliph, had thrown forty thouſand regular troops into the place, beſides twenty thouſand inhabitants, Mahometans by religion, whom he had obliged to take up arms. The governor of the city ſhut up the Chriſtians he ſuſpected in different priſons, and, among the reſt, the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital of St John of Jeruſalem.

He was a Frenchman, and named Gerard, born, as ſome hiſtorians * relate, in the iſland of Martigues in Provence. A deſire of viſiting the holy places had brought him to Jeruſalem, where ſeeing the charity exerciſed in the hoſpital of St. John, and being moved with ſo eminent an example, he had devoted himſelf long before to the ſervice of the pilgrims, at the ſame time that Agnes, a Roman lady of illuſtrious birth, governed the houſe appointed for the reception of perſons of her ſex.

All pilgrims were admitted into the hoſpital of St. John without diſtinction of Greek and Latin; the very infidels received alms there; and the inhabitants in general, of what religion ſoever they were, looked upon the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital as the common father of all the poor of the city.

It was this general eſteem, and the fear leſt he ſhould make uſe of it in favour of the beſieged, that induced the governor to have him taken into cuſtody. That commander, to render the ſiege more difficult, cauſed all the wells and ciſterns for five or ſix miles round the city to be filled up: at the ſame time he demolished the ſuburbs, and burnt

* *Hiſtoire de Provence par Bouche, t. 1. p. 32.*

all such timber belonging to the houses as might serve for making military engines. But all these precautions, the fortifications of the place, and a numerous garrison, did not hinder the Christians from sitting down before it.

This city, one of the finest in the east, and ever famous for the mysteries of our redemption therein accomplished, had undergone several revolutions. No body can be ignorant of all the horrors of the siege laid to it by Titus Vespasian, who, without any such design, fulfilled the prophecies concerning it. The temple was entirely demolished; even in spite of the conqueror himself. The emperor Adrian, after destroying it a second time, rebuilt it again; but then he made it of less compass, and changed its name into *Ælia*, because he himself was called *Ælius*. Jerusalem recovered its name and its former glory under Constantine the first christian emperor. Cosroes, grandson of another Cosroes, king of Persia, in the time of the emperor Phocas, laid the Holy City again desolate; thirty thousand inhabitants were put to the sword, and the famous church of St. Sepulchre was destroyed. Heraclius, successor to Phocas, recovered Jerusalem, and caused the churches to be rebuilt. About the middle of the seventh century it was taken, as we observed before, by the caliph Omar; and the Sarazen Mahometans had been masters of it for near four hundred years, when the Turcomans drove them thence. The sultan of Egypt had retaken it during the siege of Antioch. That which the princes of the crusade laid to it lasted only five weeks. Godfrey of Bouillon threw himself first into the city by means of a wooden tower which he clapped to the walls. The Count of Tholouse, who commanded at another attack, had the same advantage; the 1099. whole army crowded into the place; they July 15. put all that made any resistance to the

sword; and not only so, but such as also threw down their arms. Above ten thousand inhabitants, who had been promised quarter, were massacred afterwards in cold blood; infants were inhumanly butchered at the breast, and in the arms of their mother; every thing * swam in blood, and the conquerors, tired at last with slaughter, looked on it themselves with horror.

This military rage ceased at length, and gave way to more christian sentiments. The chieftains, after the necessary precautions for the security of their conquest, laid aside their arms, and went barefoot, with their soldiers after them, to prostrate themselves before the holy sepulchre. Nothing was to be heard in that sacred place but sighs and groans. 'Twas a moving spectacle indeed to see with what devotion these soldiers of the crusade visited and kissed the memorials of our Saviour's sufferings; and, what is still more surprizing, these tears and sentiments of piety came from those very soldiers, who but a moment before had abandoned themselves to the most shocking cruelties: so true it is, that men are often led by principles entirely opposite.

The next day the bishops and priests offered the holy sacrifice in the churches, to return thanks to God for their happy success. They gave immediate advice of it to pope Paschal II. who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and ordered the day of its reduction to be annually observed as a solemn festival for ever.

From the duties of religion, they passed next to the cares of government. The princes and lords assembled to determine who should be invested with the sovereignty of this conquest. Every one, according to his inclination or interests, proposed

* Christiani cum paganis quinto bello conferto, tanta in eos cæde debacchati sunt, ut in sanguine occisorum equitarent usque ad genua equorum. Sig. Gemblac. p. 611.

different persons to fill that great dignity. Some named Raimond, count of Tholouse; others Robert Duke of Normandy; but at last all their votes united in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince still more illustrious for his piety than for his singular valour. The heads of the crusade conducted him in a solemn manner to the church of the holy sepulchre, in order to crown him there. But while the ceremony of inauguration was performing, the religious prince refused a crown of gold which they offered him, protesting loudly, that they should never see so magnificent a crown upon his head, in a place where the Saviour of the world was crowned with one of thorns. He likewise absolutely refused the august name of King, and took only the simple title of Protector, or defender of the holy sepulchre.

In the mean time, the caliph of Egypt's general, knowing nothing of the taking of Jerusalem, was marching at the head of his army to raise the siege; but Godfrey prevented him. He advanced to meet him, attacked him on the edge of the deserts which divide Palestine from Egypt, and beat and routed his army. In acknowledgement, and for a memorial of this new victory, he founded a chapter of Latin canons in the church of the holy sepulchre: he founded also another sometime after in the church of the temple, which served before for a mosque to the infidels, and these canons in both churches followed the rule of St. Augustine, as cardinal James de Vitri, bishop of Acri, relates in his history, * an author, who, in respect of the affairs of the east, ought to be regarded as the original historian.

The prince visited next the house of the hospitallers of St. John, the first which the Latin Christians ever had in the city of Jerusalem. He was received there by the pious Gerard, and the

* Chap. 50.

other administrators of the same fraternity ; and there he found a great number of the soldiers of the crusade, who had been wounded in the siege and carried thither, after the taking of the place ; all of them agreed in extolling the great charity of the hospitallers, who spared no pains for their relief.

The cardinal de Vitri relates, that the bread of these hospitallers was made only of bran and the coarsest flower, whilst they reserved the finest part for the sustenance of the sick and wounded ; a circumstance indeed inconsiderable enough if any thing can be so that proceeds from an eminent fund of charity.

Several young gentlemen, who had just an happy experience of it; renounced all thoughts of returning into their own country, and devoted themselves in the house of St. John to the service of the poor and pilgrims. Among the illustrious persons of the crusade, who took the habit of hospitallers, were Raimond, deputy of the province of Dauphiny ; Dudon de Comps, of the same province ; Gastus or Castus, of the city of Berdeiz ; Canon de Montaigu, of the province of Auvergne, and a great number besides.

Though Godfrey by this means lost some gallant men who had done him great services, he could not but look upon their change with joy, and perhaps with a pious emulation. But if the interest and preservation of Jerusalem kept him still at the head of the army, he would at least contribute to the support of the house of St. John, and therefore annexed to it the lordship of Montboire, with all its dependencies, which was formerly part of his own demesne in Brabant.

Most of the princes and lords of the crusade followed his example. The hospital was in a little time enriched with a great number of lands and manors, as well in Europe as in Palestine. This

was

was the in hands of the pious Gerard, a sacred trust and certain fund for the relief of all the distressed. The holy man was as yet only a mere secular administrator; but after the taking of Jerusalem, the desire of greater perfection induced him to propose to the brothers and sisters of the hospital to take a regular habit, and dedicate their life in the hospital to the service of the poor and pilgrims.

GERARD
Rector.

The brothers and sisters of the fraternity of hospitaliers, by his advice and example, renounced the world, and took the regular habit, which is a plain black robe, having a white linen cross of eight points fastened to it on the left side near the heart: And the patriarch of Jerusalem, after first clothing them with it, received from them three solemn vows of the order, which they made publicly at the foot of the holy sepulchre.

Pope Paschal II. some years after, confirmed this new institution, exempted the house of Jerusalem, and such as were dependent on it, from the payment of tithes, confirmed all endowments made or to be made in favour of the hospital, and granted, by a special order, that after the death of Gerard, the hospitaliers should have the sole right of electing a new superior, without the interposition of any power, either secular or ecclesiastical.

In the mean time the soldiers of the crusade, having rescued the Holy City from slavery, most of them prepared for their return to Europe. Of all that prodigious number that set out from thence, and entered Asia, there staid only with Godfrey two thousand foot and three hundred horse that were attached to his fortune, besides the brave Tancred, who would never abandon him. Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, retired to Edessa in Mesopotamia, of which he had made himself master; Eustace, another brother of Godfrey's, returned
D 3 back

back to France ; and Bohemund being made prince of Antioch, fixed his residence there.

Every one of these princes was attended with the lords, gentlemen, officers and soldiers, who had come to the Holy Land under their banner, and in order to keep these gallant gentlemen with them, they procured them considerable settlements in their territories, as a testimony and recompense of their valour ; and these several principalities may be said to be all inhabited by a nation of conquerors.

The rest of the crusade, whom the love of their country called back into Europe, returning home, published their conquests, and the wonders God had vouchsafed to work by their arms. There is no expressing the transport of the people, and the effect this extraordinary news had upon their minds. Of all the nations of Christendom, and of all professions indifferently, there were forming continually as it were new brigades of pilgrims, who quitted their all to have the satisfaction of seeing the Holy City delivered from the tyranny of the infidels. They were entertained in the house of St. John, and found there a certain, and even an agreeable subsistence.

This flux and reflux of pilgrims, all of whom carried back into their country testimonies of the charity of the hospitallers, occasioned them new benefactions from most of the princes of the west ; so that there was scarce a province in Christendom, where the house of St. John had not large estates, and very considerable settlements.

It was not long before the pious Gerard caused a magnificent temple to be erected in honour of St. John the Baptist, and in a place which, according to ancient tradition, had served for a retreat to Zacharias, father to that great saint. Near this church were built various apartments and vast buildings, some for the hospitallers to dwell in, and others to entertain the pilgrims, and lodge the poor and

sick.

sick. The hospitallers treated them all with equal charity; they washed with pleasure the feet of the pilgrims, dressed the sores of the wounded, and attended the sick, whilst the holy priests belonging to the house administered to them the sacraments of the church.

The zeal of the hospitallers was not confined within the city or territory of Jerusalem; the head and superior of this growing society extended his cares even into the west: Out of the estates, which he possessed by the liberality of christian princes, he founded hospitals in the principal maritime provinces of Europe; and these houses, which were a sort of daughters to that of Jerusalem, and may be looked upon as the first commanderies of this order, served to collect the pilgrims in a body, who had devoted themselves to the voyage of the Holy Land. Care was there taken for their embarkation; they found ships, guides and convoys; at the same time that other care was taken of such as fell sick, and were not in a condition to continue so long a voyage.

Such were the houses of St. Giles in Provence, Sevil in Andalusia, of Tarento in Apulia, Messina in Sicily, and abundance of others, which pope Paschal II. took afterwards, like that of Jerusalem, under the particular protection of the holy see, and which his successors honoured with various privileges.

Whilst this new order was thus recommending itself no less in Europe than in Asia, Godfrey of Bouillon, to reduce a confused military government to some form and regularity, called a kind of assembly of the estates of the kingdom, where he enacted new laws, the collection of which, commonly called the assize of Jerusalem, was signed by that prince, and sealed with his coat of arms; and because this collection was lodged in the church of the holy sepulchre, it was generally called the writ-

ings of the holy sepulchre. The prince, after cares so worthy of a sovereign, took the field again, and made himself master of Tiberias, and the other towns situated on the lake of Gennesareth, and of the greatest part of Galilee, the government of which he gave to Tancred.

Godfrey would have reduced all Palestine, if a contagious sickness had not stopped the progress of his arms. He died with the same sentiments of piety that had brought him to the Holy Land; and by his death the Sarazens were
 1100. July 18. rid of a formidable enemy, and the

Christians lost a noble champion and great commander. He left two brothers behind him, whose names were Eustace and Baldwin; but as the eldest was returned into Europe, the younger, then count of Edessa, was sent for to succeed him; and this prince, before he went to Jerusalem, resigned that large territory to the count du Bourg his cousin.

Baldwin assumed the majestic title of king, which Godfrey of Bouillon, out of a spirit of piety, had refused to accept. Baldwin was not perhaps inferior to his brother in valour; but his courage was not supported by an equal capacity in the conduct of an army. He was more a soldier than a general, and not very scrupulous in conversing with women; which last was the principal failing of this new successor of David.

This prince, who is reckoned the first king of Jerusalem, was in war all his reign, and engaged with various success, often victorious, sometimes beaten, but never discouraged from fighting. After a defeat, he returned the next day to attack the infidels, and never let either his own soldiers or his enemies rest; he besieged and took Ptolemais or Acre, a famous city and harbour.

During his reign the city of Tripoli in
 1101. Syria, after a siege of four years, surrendered

dered to Sourdain nephew to Raimond, count of Tholouse, who delivered it up afterwards to Bertrand, the count's natural son. The king on his side took Sidon and Berytus; and all the places along the coast yielded to the force of his arms, except Tyre alone, which he was designing to besiege; when after a reign of eighteen years, a dysentery, occasioned by the fatigues of war, 1118. carried him to his grave.

Baldwin du Bourg, or Baldwin II. his cousin, count of Edessa, succeeded him in the crown of Jerusalem, as he had done before in that country, which he resigned likewise in his turn to Josceline de Courtenay his kinsman. Baldwin, following the steps of the two princes his predecessors, thought only of preserving by new conquests the crown which they had acquired for him. But whilst this prince by his valour kept the infidels at a distance from the capital of Judea, the hospitallers lost the blessed Gerard, the father of the 1118. poor and pilgrims. That virtuous man, after having arrived to an exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren, almost without any sickness, and fell, as we may say, like a fruit ripe for eternity.

The hospitallers assembled after his death to chuse him a successor, pursuant to the bull of pope Paschal II. There was no division upon the point; all their votes united in favour of brother

RAIMOND DUPUY,
first military Grand-
master.

Raimond Dupuy, a gentleman of the province of Dauphiny, of an illustrious house, which after so many ages, is still subsisting at this day under the name of Dupuy Montbrun.

The blessed Gerard, to engage the hospitallers in the service of the poor and pilgrims, contented himself with inspiring into them sentiments of charity and humility. His successor thought it necessary to enforce

enforce the duty by particular statutes ; and with the consent of the whole chapter, drew them up in such a manner, that they seemed to have been made only to secure in that holy house a more sure and strict observance of the solemn vows of their profession.

The new master of the hospitallers formed a design of adding to these and the duties of hospitality, an obligation to take up arms for the defence of the holy places ; and he resolved to draw out of his house a military body, and a sort of a perpetual crusade, who were to be subject to the orders of the kings of Jerusalem, and to make a particular profession of fighting against the infidels.

For the clearing up of a fact so important to the order whose history we write, it must be observed, that what was called at that time the kingdom of Jerusalem, consisted only of that capital, and some other cities, separated for the most part by places still in possession of the infidels, so that the Latins could not pass from one to the other without danger, or a large guard. The country too about these christian towns was still inhabited by Mahometan peasants, who looking on the Christians as enemies to their religion, assassinated and robbed them, whenever they could surprize them with advantage and without danger of discovery. The Latins were scarce more secure in the boroughs and towns that were not walled ; robbers entered them by night and cut the throats of the inhabitants ; and what was yet more grievous, this little state was still in a manner besieged on all sides, either by the Turcomans or by the Sarazens of Egypt, two formidable powers, who, without acting in concert, had yet neither of them any other view but to drive the Christians out of Syria and Palestine. Thus were the Latins obliged to maintain an almost continual war : and in the winter season, when the armies were no longer able to keep the field, different parties

ties of infidels were perpetually harassing the country; destroying all before them with fire and sword, massacring the men, and carrying the women and children away into an odious slavery.

The master of the hospital, touched with these calamities, and seeing himself at the head of a great body of hospitallers, formed the most noble, and withal the most extraordinary design, that ever entered into the mind of a monk, tied down by his profession to the service of the poor and sick.

God, who had inspired Raimond with this noble project, had given him all the qualities proper to make it succeed; an illustrious birth, exalted sentiments, large and extended views, and an ardent zeal, which made him wish for an opportunity of sacrificing his own life to save that of a Christian.

He was every moment representing to himself the great number of the inhabitants of Palestine surprized and murdered by the infidels, others of them groaning in irons, the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of robbers, and the debauches of these barbarians, yet more insupportable than their cruelties; in a word, the Christians in general, either to avoid torments, or to save their life or honour, exposed to the temptation of renouncing Jesus Christ. These dismal reflections, and the desire of preserving to the Saviour of the world, the souls which he had purchased with his blood, continually perplexed the master of the hospital; it was the ordinary subject of his meditations. He consulted every day at the foot of the altar the author and inspirer of this pious design. Pressed at last by a particular call, he summoned a chapter, and proposed to his brethren of the order, to resume, as being soldiers of Jesus Christ, the arms which most of them had quitted to serve him in the person of the poor, and in the hospital of St. John.

Raimond owed his dignity merely to the lustre of his virtues: his friars looked upon this proposal as

a new instance of his zeal ; and though it appeared not very compatible with their first engagement, and the functions of hospitality, yet the laudable desire of defending the holy places made them look over the difficulties that might arise in the exercise of two so different professions. The hospitallers, most of them the companions or soldiers of Godfrey de Bouillon, generously resumed their arms with the patriarch's permission. However, they agreed never to make use of them but against the infidels ; and it was resolved, that without abandoning their first engagements, or the care of such as were sick or in poverty, part of these monks should be ready to mount on horseback whenever there was occasion, to oppose the incursions of the infidels. Besides, the order was by this time rich and powerful enough to hire forces upon pressing occasions : and it was afterwards by this succour that they supported with so much bravery the tottering throne of the kings of Jerusalem.

Raimond, having brought his brethren of the order into his project, is said to have distributed the whole body of the hospitallers into three classes. The first consisting of gentlemen of birth, who formerly held rank in the army ; these were appointed to bear arms. In the second class were the priests and chaplains, who, besides the ordinary functions of their character, either in the church or in attendance upon the sick, were likewise obliged to serve by turns as chaplains in the camp : and as to such as were neither of noble families, nor ecclesiasticks, they were called *freres servans*, i. e. serving brothers, from the office assigned them by the knights, as well with regard to the sick as in the army ; and they were distinguished afterwards by a coat of arms differing in colour from that of the knights. Notwithstanding this distinction, all these monks formed but one body, and shared equally in most of the rights and privileges of the order.

As this new order multiplied exceedingly in a little time, and most of the young gentry flocked from different parts of Europe to enrol themselves under its banner, they made a new distinction according to the country and nation of each knight, and divided them into seven languages, viz. these of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany and England. This division is at this day still subsisting in the same manner, excepting that in the first ages of the order, the priories, bailiwicks and commanderies were common to all the knights indifferently; whereas those dignities have been since annexed to each particular language and nation. The English are no longer reckoned among these languages, since heresy has infected that kingdom; and to that of Arragon they have added the languages of Castile and Portugal.

The regular habit consisted of a black robe with a pointed mantle of the same colour, upon which was sowed a pointed cowl. This sort of garment was called *manteau a bec*, and had upon the left side a cross of white linen with eight points; a dress which in those first times, was, as well as the name of hospitallers, common to all the monks of the order.

But after these hospitallers had taken upon them the military badge, persons of high birth being out of an idle punctilio shy of entering into an order where they were blended with serving brothers, Alexander IV. to remove this obstacle, thought fit to settle a proper distinction between the serving brothers and the knights. With this view, he ordered, that for the future none but the latter should wear in the house the black mantle, and in the camp a *sopra veste*, or coat of arms with a white cross upon a red field like the arms upon the standard of the order, which are *Gueules à la croix pleine d'argent*; and by a particular statute it was provided, that such knights, as should in battle de-

sert their rank and fly, should be deprived of the habit and cross of the order.

The form of government in this order seems to have been at that time, as it is now, purely aristocratical. The supreme authority was vested in the council, of which the master of the hospitallers was president, and as such, he had two votes in case of a division. This council had the management of the great estates possessed by the order both in Asia and Europe.

To take care of these estates, they sent thither some old hospitallers with the title of preceptors, whose commission lasted only so long as the master and council thought fit; so that these preceptors were looked upon at that time only as stewards and mere administrators of part of the estate of the order, for which they were accountable to the treasury.

'Twas from these funds, which were every day improving by a wise œconomy, that they furnished the necessary succours for maintenance of the house of Jerusalem, and particularly for the charges of the war, and the pay of such secular soldiers as the order took into their service.

Almost all these revenues were remitted from the west to Palestine, the preceptors reserved but a very small part for their own subsistence. Those true friars observed the same austerity under the privileges of their commission as in the convent. They lived in a collegiate way, many together, and formed a society. Charity to the poor and pilgrims distinguished itself as much in these particular houses, as in the head of the order, and in the hospital of St. John. Their purity of life was no less remarkable than their disinterested temper of not appropriating any thing to themselves; and after the order had taken up arms in the east against the Sarazens and Turcomans, the hospitallers, who were in the west, and in the houses of the order, to act agreeably

agreeably to their profession, and discharge the obligations they lay under, never failed in their turn, and pursuant to the orders they received from the master, to repair either to the army of Palestine, or to those that were sent against the Moors in Spain, and afterwards against the Albigenes in France. But none of them were ever known to engage in the wars raised between Christian princes. A knight hospitaller was only a soldier of Jesus Christ; and when the interests of religion did not oblige him to take up arms, he was never seen employed but in the care of the poor and sick: this was the spirit of the order, and the uniform practice of all the hospitallers.

Raimond Dupuy having got his design approved by the patriarch of Jerusalem, his natural superior, and having received his blessing, went at the head of his brethren, all armed, to offer their service to Baldwin du Bourg, the second king of Jerusalem. That prince was agreeably surprized at it, and looked upon that body of gentlemen, as a succour sent him from heaven.

'Tis astonishing that none of the historians of that time take any notice of the year in which these hospitallers had recourse to arms, and that those writers have kept the same silence with regard to their exploits, or at least have spoken of them only by the by, and very superficially. However, we learn from a bull of Pope Innocent II. bearing date A. D. 1130, that they talked of nothing in all Europe but of the important services done the kings of Jerusalem by the hospitallers against the infidels; which supposes, that they had been some time before in arms: and yet there is no carrying the epocha we are in search of higher than A. D. 1118, when Raimond Dupuy was dignified with the mastership of this new militia.

The king of Jerusalem had great need of this succour: he was obliged to defend against formi-

dable enemies, as well his own kingdom, as the counties of Edeffa and Tripoli which held of it without reckoning the principality of Antioch which was united in one common interest with the crown of Jerusalem, though the princes of Antioch pretended to be independent of it.

The county of Edeffa comprehended almost all Mesopotamia, and extended itself between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Baldwin I. had made conquest of it, and, after his accession to the throne of Jerusalem, had resigned it to Baldwin du Bourg his cousin, who in like manner, upon his advancement to the crown of Jerusalem, invested his kinsman Josceline de Courtenay with his county. The county of Tripoli comprehended several places situated along the sea of Phœnicia, from Maraclea as far as the river Adonis, * where began what was then called the kingdom of Jerusalem, which soon extended its frontiers as far as the desert which divides l'a'estine from Egypt. Bertrand, son of Raymond count of Tholouse, was count of Tripoli; and Bohemund II. prince of Antioch, had succeeded the famous Bohemund his father, who died in Apulia on his return from France, where he had married the princess Constance, daughter of Philip I. king of France.

Bohemund II. the issue of this marriage was first put under the guardianship of the brave Tancred his cousin; but that prince dying soon after, the regency was conferred upon Roger, son of Richard, of the same house, a prince of great valour, but ambitious, and who having the sovereign authority only in trust, gave reason from his conduct to suspect, that he aspired to the principality itself.

Whilst Roger, guardian to young Bohemund, governed this great principality, 1119. Gasi, one of the Turcoman princes, Dol of Kuvin of the same nation, king of Damascus,

* Thamiras.

and Debeis chief of a powerful tribe among the Mahometan Arabians, joined their forces to drive all the Latin Christians out of Syria. These infidels entered the territories of the principality at the head of a formidable army, carried several small towns, and put all to fire and sword in the country. The regent, surprized at this invasion, sent immediately to give advice of it to the king of Jerusalem to Josceline de Courtenay, lord of Edessa, and to Ponce count of Tripoli, and successor to count Bertrand. All these princes sent him word, that they would advance without loss of time to his succour. Roger, in expectation of their coming up, threw himself into the city of Antioch with what troops he had, and at the same time caused the inhabitants to arm. The infidels, not caring to engage in a siege, which they foresaw must be long and bloody, endeavoured to draw the regent out of the town by ravaging the country. And accordingly Roger, who from his palace saw with anguish the villages in a flame, could no longer govern his resentment, but transported with courage, sallied out of the city; and, contrary to the advice of his principal officers, advanced against the enemy. His whole force was but about seven hundred horse and three thousand foot; yet with this handful of troops, and without so much as considering the forces of his enemies he ventured to attack them. The Turcomans to flatter his confidence gave way at first, feigned a retreat, and drew him insensibly into an ambuscade. He then saw himself surrouned in a moment; a multitude of barbarians fell upon him from all sides. In vain did the Christian prince endeavour to open himself a way through the squadrons of the infidels; what effort soever he could make, his troops, overwhelmed with numbers, were cut in pieces, and the regent's precipitation cost him his life and the greatest part of his little army.

The victorious infidels, flattering themselves that they should gain as easy a triumph over the troops which the king was bringing up, marched to surprise him. They had no difficulty to meet with an enemy that fought them; both armies came in fight, even before their commanders expected it; there was a necessity of engaging. This was the first occasion upon which the knights of St. John signalized their zeal against the infidels. The action was long and bloody; they fought on both sides with that aversion which is usually seen between nations that are enemies, and of different religions. Baldwin, a prince full of courage, at the head of his nobles, and followed by Raimond and the hospitalers, throws himself into the midst of the thickest battalions; he pushes, presses, and breaks through every thing that opposes him. The soldiers, animated by his example, follow the way that he had opened for them; they enter sword in hand into those shrinking battalions, and, in spite of all resistance, force them to seek for safety in flying. In vain did the emirs use menaces to rally them, whatever they could do, their whole force disbanded, and their terrified soldiers shewed manifestly, that in a rout they fear nothing but the enemy and death.

The king of Jerusalem entered victorious into Antioch, where he regulated every thing that related to the defence of the place, and the civil government; and leaving a strong garrison in it, returned to Jerusalem, where he was received by his subjects with that applause which always attends a favourable fortune.

This prince thought of nothing now but enjoying a little rest, as the most agreeable fruit of his victory, when he heard that Josceline de Courtenay, count of Edeffa, had been surprised in an ambuscade

scade by Balac, one of the most powerful emirs of the Turcomans, and was taken 1122. prisoner by that infidel prince. Baldwin, for fear the emir should take advantage of Courtenay's misfortune, and besiege Edeffa, set out immediately with what troops he had, made great marches crossed the Jordan, and advanced into the country. But going in person to reconnoitre the camp of the infidels, whether he was betrayed, or too much exposed, he saw himself in a moment surrounded by a party superior to his guard; which being cut in pieces before his face, he was obliged, with Galle-ran his cousin, to surrender himself to the enemy, and undergo the same fate with the prince of Edeffa.

It is impossible to express the consternation of Baldwin's troops, when they heard of his captivity: a great number of the soldiers, as if the war had been at an end, or because they despaired of being able to resist the infidels, disbanded themselves. The hospitallers, in conjunction with what troops remained, unable to keep the field or stop the progress of the enemy, threw themselves into Edeffa and other places of that county, which they preserved for Courtenay.

The caliph of Egypt, to make his advantage of the king of Jerusalem's misfortune, caused one of his generals to enter Judea on that 1123. side next Ascalon: the general advanced to Jassa, and invested it by land, whilst a fleet of the same nation blocked up the place by sea.

In so melancholy a juncture, it could not be imagined that the Latins could at one and the same time make head against the Turcomans and Saracens, who attacked them on different sides. The Saracens had formed the siege of Jassa both by land and sea. Eustace Garnier, lord of Sydon or Scyde, and Cesarea, and constable of Palestine, though in an age far advanced, gathered a body of about seven

ven thousand men, which made the main forces of that little state, and with what knights he could muster in the house of Jerusalem, marched directly against the enemy. He made such expedition, that he surprised them, forced their lines, and cut in pieces all those that in the confusion were unable to recover their vessels, their fleet having stood off to sea, and sailed towards Alexandria. The Christian general, upon advice that the garrison of Ascalon was ravaging the country, without allowing his soldiers any time to rest, led them immediately up thither. He found part of the soldiers of the garrison dispersed and busy in pillaging. The constable, at the head of his troops, fell upon these pillagers, who were off their guard, killed all that endeavoured to rally, took a great number of prisoners, and none escaped but a few that were fortunate enough to get back into Ascalon.

These two victories were soon followed by a third, and by a new disaster for the Saracens. We have observed that their ships, upon the defeat of their land army, had set sail. These ships in their retreat, as they were sailing off the coast of Ascalon, fell in with a fleet of Venetians, commanded by the noble Henry Michieli, duke or doge of Venice, who, after an obstinate engagement, sunk part of them, and made himself master of the rest.

William des Barres, lord of Tiberias, had just succeeded count Garnier, who died during this expedition, in the command of the land army. The new general sent to congratulate the doge of Venice upon the happy success of his arms, and proposed an interview. The Venetian fleet entered into the port of Jaffa; others say into that of Acre or Ptolemais. The duke was received there with all the honours and marks of acknowledgement, that were due to so important a victory. They loaded his chief officers with presents; the fleet received refreshments and provisions in abundance, and the duke

duke went to pay his devotions at Jerusalem, where he passed the Christmas. The patriarch of that city, Desbarres, and the principal lords of the country, laying hold of the opportunity, while he was thus piously disposed, made a proposal to Michieli, of blocking up the port of Tyre with his fleet, while the land army besieged the place. The enterprize was great and very difficult to be executed, yet Desbarres made him sensible of the importance and usefulness of his project.

But as the Venetian was not to be satisfied with a barren glory, and aggravated the charges of the enterprize, he declared, that if the success of their arms was favourable, he insisted on sharing the conquest with the king of Jerusalem, and to have a moiety of it in entire sovereignty. He did not stick here; but as he knew they could not do without his fleet, he demanded for the Venetians a church, a street, a common oven*, baths, and a particular exercise of jurisdiction in Jerusalem, and in all the towns depending on that kingdom. This was in a manner to share the sovereignty of it: but as afterwards it was of the last consequence to the Christians of Palestine to drive the infidels out of Tyre, and there was no doing without a fleet for a siege of that importance, they agreed, after several conferences, that the Venetians should have a third part of the city. They even complied with most of the other conditions, hard and extraordinary as they were, and signed a treaty, which would have been scandalous if it had not been in a manner necessary. Among the names of the prelates and principal lords of the kingdom which subscribed the treaty, we do not find that of Raimond Dupuy; whether he staid at Edeffa for defence of the county, or did not care to subscribe a treaty which entrenched on the sove-

* *Four banal* signifies a common oven for all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction wherein it stands. Cotgrave.

reignty of the king. However this be, the treaty was no sooner signed than every thing was in motion. The fleet on one side, and the land army on the other, came before Tyre, and begirt the place close. They opened the trenches, the siege was long and bloody, and the hospitallers acquired a great deal of glory in different attacks; in fine, the besieged pressed at the same time by sea and land, and seeing no hope of succours, desired to capitulate.

The conditions were agreed on, and the treaty executed punctually on both sides, 1124. as was also that with the Venetians; and July 30. in concert with their doge, they established afterwards in the city an archbishop, named William, by nation an Englishman, and prior of the holy sepulchre, who was consecrated by Guaimond, patriarch of Jerusalem.

During the siege of Tyre, Josceline de Courtenay, escaping out of Balac's prison, came back to his dominions, mustered up all the force he could, brought a small body of an army into the field, marched against his enemy, gave him battle, and killed him with his own hand. This victory, and the emir's death, were the occasion of the king of Jerusalem's liberty *. Balac's widow, either affected with the merit of her prisoner, or afraid that he should make his escape, and she lose his ransom, made a truce with him, and fixed a price for his liberty. Baldwin agreed to pay her an hundred thousand pieces of silver money, of what they called Michelins: he paid half of it down, and for the rest he gave her in hostage one of the princesses his daughters, that was five years old.

This prince's return into his dominions brought joy, and afterwards plenty thither. Baldwin, 1124. convinced that the true riches of a sovereign consists in the wealth of his subjects,

* Will. Tyr. l. 13. c. 26.

published a general safe conduct for all persons, of what religion and party soever they were, that should bring corn and merchandise into his ports, with an exemption from all customs. This liberty drew thither merchants from all nations, re-established commerce, and rendered this prince at the same time more powerful and formidable to his neighbours.

Borsequin and Doldekuvin, those two Turcoman princes, always raging against the Christians, made fresh incursions into the principality of Antioch. That state, though a sovereign one, was, during the minority of young Bohemund, under the protection of the king of Jerusalem. Baldwin, on the first news of this enterprise of the infidels, took the field, and marched with so much secrecy and expedition, that he surprised the enemy, forced their camp, and took so great a number of prisoners, that their ransom served to redeem the princess his daughter, whom he had given in hostage to Balac's widow. From Syria he marched back into Palestine, where he repressed the incursions of the garrison of Ascalon, which raised contributions as far as the gates of Jaffa.

His prince opened the following campaign with a new victory, which he gained over Doldekuvin. It was followed by the taking of Rapha, a strong place in the county of Tripoli. The hospitallers attended the king in all these expeditions, but nobody acquired more glory than Fulk, count of Anjou, one of the greatest soldiers of the age. The pilgrimage of Jerusalem, so usual at that time, had brought him into the Holy Land: he was son of Fulk, surnamed le Rechin, or the ill-humoured, and of Bertrade de Monfort, afterwards wife or concubine to Philip I king of France.

This Fulk had married Eremburge, only daughter of Helie count of Maine, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The count and countess

lived

lived very happily together, till death parted them. The countess died, and the Earl, full of grief for her loss, travelled to the Holy Land, where for a year he maintained an hundred knights at his own expence. This prince, at their head, signalized himself on various occasions against the infidels. Time having wrought its ordinary effect upon grief, and the term he had fixed for his pilgrimage being expired, he was seized with an impatience of returning into his own dominions. King Baldwin, who had been witness of his valour, could not see him in this disposition without great concern; and therefore to keep him if possible, and engage him more particularly in the defence of the Holy Land, he offered him the princess Melesinda his eldest daughter in marriage, with the promise of appointing him his successor, and making him be acknowledged as such; and to leave him no manner of uneasiness on account of the princess Alice his second daughter, he married her to young Bohemund prince of Antioch. Fulk accepted the king's proposal with great satisfaction; but the care he owed to his children obliged him before he married to take

1126. a voyage into France. He set out some time afterwards, leaving the king and all his court in much grief for his absence, and impatient of his return. The departure of this prince was luckily recompensed by a new and unexpected succour, which a zeal like that of the hospitallers produced in favour of the pilgrims and Christians of Palestine.

Hugh de Payens, Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and seven other gentlemen, all Frenchmen, whose names are not preserved in history, moved with the dangers to which pilgrims were exposed in going to Jerusalem and coming from it, formed among them a little society, to serve as a guard to conduct and bring them back afterwards beyond the defiles of the mountains and the passages of greatest danger.

It was at first only a meer association of some private persons, who, without obliging themselves to any rule, or taking the monastic habit, went to meet the pilgrims, when they were requested to do so. Brompton *, an historian almost cotemporary with them, relates, that in his time these gentlemen were supposed to be pupils of the hospitalers, and to have subsisted several years only by relief from them. They retired into an house near the temple, which occasioned their having afterwards the name of Templars, or knights of the temple †. The king of Jerusalem having made choice of ‡ Hugh de Payens to send him to Rome to solicit for succour, and if possible a new crusade; this pious gentleman, after acquitting himself worthily of his commission to Pope Honorius II. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, presented his associates to him, entertained him with their zeal for the security of pilgrims, and desired his permission to form a religious and military order, in imitation of that of the hospitalers.

The sovereign pontiff referred them to the fathers of the council which was then sitting at Troyes in Champagne. Hugh and his companions went thither, and he that spoke in their name laid before the assembly their vocation, and the project they had formed of taking a religious habit, and founding a military order, which should devote itself to the defence of the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who should travel thither. The fathers approved the holy undertaking, and referred the care of prescribing a rule and form of regular habit for this infant order to St. Bernard, who was present at the council. We have the rule still remaining, or at least an extract of it, in which, among other arti-

* Chronic. Joan. Brompton. hist. Ang. scrip. p. 1028. Edit. Lond. 1652.

† See Guil. Tyr. 1118 l. 1. 12. c. 11. p. 891.

‡ Jac. Vitt. c. 64.

cles, St. Bernard ordered them, instead of prayers and offices, to say over every day a certain number of pater nosters ; which would make one imagine, that these warriors at that time knew not how to read. Another statute requires, that they should not eat flesh above three days in a week ; but then it allows them three dishes on days of abstinence. The holy abbot, with regard to their military service, declared, that each templar might have one esquire, or serving brother at arms, and three saddle horses * : but he forbade all gilding and superfluous ornaments in their equipage. He ordered that their habits should be white, and as a mark of their profession, pope Eugenius III. added afterwards a red cross placed over the heart.

Hugh and his companions having obtained the council's approbation, returned to Rome to get both the rule of their order, and the order itself, established by the pope's authority ; which being effected, they prepared to return to the east ; but before their departure, a great number of gentlemen of the best families in France, Germany, and Italy, presented themselves to enter into their order. Hugh, who was the head of it, gave them the religious habit, which he had taken himself, and with this fine body of youth he arrived in Palestine. This new militia increased considerably in a short time ; princes of sovereign houses, and lords of the most illustrious families in Christendom, were eager to fight under the habit and banner of the templars. Out of a false nicety and punctilio, which scarce ever leaves great men, even at their devotions, this profession, which was altogether military, was often preferred to the troublesome and humbling services which the hospitallers, though soldiers, rendered to the poor and sick. These princes and

* *Solum autem armigerum singulis militibus eadem causa concessimus.*

lords, entering into the order of the templars, brought immense riches to it; besides, the very fame of their exploits procured them vast benefactions; and Brompton, whom we have just mentioned, adds, that this growing society, this daughter of the house of St. John, became in a short time so rich and powerful, that the daughter, says he, eclipsed her mother, and looked as if she would bury her in obscurity*. But whether that which this ancient historian advances be true or not, it must be owned, that the two orders were the surest supports of Jerusalem; that Baldwin and the kings his successors, as we shall see hereafter, never undertook any thing considerable without the assistance of their arms; that the superiors too of the order had often a great share in the government; so that to relate the various events of that monarchy, is in a manner to write the history of these two orders.

The king, though he had not succeeded in his application for a crusade, yet saw with pleasure, instead of it, these recruits, as it were, of gentry and nobility arriving every day from Europe to enrol themselves in one or other of these orders; but nothing gave him more satisfaction than the return of the count of Anjou, who having provided for the settlement of his children, and appointed their portions, came back into the east at the head of a great body of gentlemen his vassals, married the princess Melesinda, the king's eldest daughter, and was jointly with her acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown.

Whilst the court was entirely taken up with feasts and diversions; the king received with great surprise

* Hi namque, secundum quosdam, ex infimis hospitallorum congregati, et ex reliquiis eorum, ex cibis et armis sustentati, ad tantam rerum opulentiam devenerunt, ut filia ditata matrem suffocare et suffregredi videretur. Chronicon Joan. Brompton, hist. Angl. script. p. 1008. Ed. Lond. 1652.

and concern the news of young Bohemund his other son-in-law's being killed in an engagement against the infidels; and that there was reason to fear, the capital of the principality, now left without a sovereign, would be besieged by these barbarians. Bohemund left no other issue of his marriage with Alice but an infant princess named Constance.

The king her grandfather set out with all expedition to take upon him the regency of her dominions; but upon his arrival at Antioch, he was surprised to find the gates shut, and especially when he heard, that it was by the order of the princess dowager his own daughter. This haughty and ambitious princess, vexed and jealous that her father had disposed of the crown of Jerusalem entirely to her sister, without giving her any share of it, was resolved to establish her own authority in the city of Antioch, as mother and guardian of young Constance, and perhaps to seize upon the principality, in order to marry again afterwards with greater advantage to herself, and to the prejudice of her daughter. But the most discerning of the inhabitants, knowing the need they had of the king's assistance against the continual invasions of the Turcomans, secretly, without the knowledge of the princess dowager, introduced the king her father by night into the place*. Baldwin exerted his

1131. authority there, put a governor into the place whose fidelity he was well assured of, obliged the princess dowager, though his daughter, to depart thence and retire to Laodicea, which was assigned her for her dowry, and settling every thing in good order in the principality, returned to his own dominions.

Scarce was he arrived at Jerusalem but he was seized with a violent illness, occasioned in all appearance by the vexation which his daughter's am-

* Wil. Tyr. l. 13.

bitious designs gave him; and being sensible that he was near his end, he again declared the count of Anjou, and the princess Melesinda his eldest daughter, for his successors in the throne of Jerusalem. He recommended to them the interests of young Constance, and the preservation of her principality, which served for a bulwark to the kingdom of Jerusalem on that side next Syria. This prince expired presently after, and the real grief and sincere tears of his subjects, shewed the greatness as well of the affection they bore him, as of the loss they had suffered by his death.

The count and countess of Anjou were crowned with great solemnity, and received letters afterwards from pope Innocent II. who having congratulated them on their accession to the crown, exhorted them in the most moving terms, to take all possible care for the defence of the Holy Land, and the preservation of a state of such consequence to all Christendom. The holy pontiff, who well knew that the hospitallers were the strongest support of the throne of Jerusalem, had published a little before a bull, in form of a constitution, addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the church universal; wherein, among other articles, after an encomium on the charity exercised by the hospitallers, at their own expence, towards the sick and pilgrims, he passes to the important services which they had rendered to Christianity by their arms: "The hospitallers, says the pope, make no difficulty to expose daily their own lives to defend those of their brethren; they are the firmest support of the christian church in the east, and are fighting every day with distinguished courage against the infidels. But as their substance is not sufficient to maintain an almost continual war, we exhort you to supply them out of your abundance, and recommend them to the charity of the people committed to your pastoral care.

“ Moreover, we declare unto you, that we have
 “ taken the house of the hospitallers of St. John,
 “ and the whole order, into St. Peter’s and our
 “ own protection.”

But this protection, and the special privileges which this pope and his predecessors had granted to the hospitallers, raised afterwards the jealousy and complaints of most of the bishops of Palestine, who could not bear that the holy see should exempt these monks from their jurisdiction, and that the popes should declare themselves the only immediate bishops of the whole order. We shall have occasion afterwards to speak of these differences, which made so much noise at the court of Rome, and all over the church.

* Scarce were king Baldwin’s eyes closed, when two different conspiracies were formed in Antioch against the rights of the minor princess, which had like to have kindled a civil war between the Latin princes of the east. The dowager of Antioch, like most sovereigns, who seem to think they have no relations, and as unnatural a mother as she had been an ungrateful daughter, no sooner saw the king her father in the grave, than she was contriving continually, to the prejudice of her own child, how to make herself mistress of the principality. Ponce, count of Tripoli, and the young Courtenay, who had just succeeded count Josceline his father, secretly espoused her interests; and a great number of the inhabitants of Antioch engaged to let the troops of those two princes into the city.

Unknown to this first party, was formed another cabal, not less dangerous. Roger, duke and afterwards king of Sicily, cousin to the young princess, and of the same house, either pretending that the principality of Antioch was a male fief, or, after the example of ambitious princes, believing all

* Wil. Tyr. l. 14. c. 4.

means just and lawful that lead to a throne, endeavoured to supplant the minor princes. He had his partisans in the city ; and these different plots were carrying on with great artifice and secrecy. But some of the inhabitants, who entered into neither of the schemes, discovered this double conspiracy ; they gave immediate advice of it to the governor placed there by Baldwin before his death. This commander, though supported by the garrison, did not find himself strong enough to cope with the numerous inhabitants of so great a city : he dispatched therefore courier after courier to the king of Jerusalem, pressing him to come immediately in person to Antioch, if he would preserve the principality to the heiress.

Fulk, upon the receipt of this bad news, set out immediately with as many knights as he could find in a condition to follow him, and was accompanied by Anselin de Brie, and brother Joubert an hospitaller, who shared his favour, and were admitted to the most intimate correspondence and familiarity with him. To go to Antioch by land, the king of Jerusalem was obliged to pass through the territory of the count of Tripoli his vassal ; but this count, and that of Edessa, at the head of their troops, opposed his passage. The king seeing a rebellion so openly declared, concluded that there was a strong party formed against his niece, and that the safety of the young princess depended upon his getting the start of the princes, and arriving first at Antioch. But as he had not troops enough with him to open himself a passage sword in hand, he made a feint of giving way to force, turned back again, and, to blind their spies, caused his guard to take the road of Jerusalem, as if he had been in the midst of that body of cavalry. But he withdrew privately from them, and, in the night, attended only with his two favourites, reached the sea coast, embarked in a small vessel, and arrived at the mouth
of

of the river Orontes, and in the port of St. Simeon, within five leagues of Antioch : from thence he went with great privacy to the gates of the city, and was let in by the governor and his adherents.

This prince, full of spirit and courage, soon made them sensible of his authority ; his presence and resolution terrified the conspirators ; he imprisoned the most mutinous, and, to prevent such attempts for the future, resolved, in concert with the patriarch and most considerable lords of the principality, to marry the young princess out of hand, though she was not yet of an age for marriage, and to chuse her such a prince as might serve for a tutor and a father to her, and be capable of defending her dominions.

The princess of Antioch's inheritance was too splendid a fortune to fear she should fail of an husband ; but the situation of her dominions, surrounded on all sides by infidels, required a prince of eminent capacity and courage, that could keep the seditious in their duty, and at the same time make head against the continual incursions of the infidels.

The king of Jerusalem cast his eyes on Raimond, brother to William the last count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, a prince of great courage, and who had given distinguishing proofs of it in all the wars wherein he had been engaged. They had several quarrels whilst Fulk was in Europe, but that king generously sacrificed his resentment to the interests of his niece, and the count's bravery and merit made him easily forget their former disputes.

The patriarch and most considerable lords of the principality approving the king's choice, that prince pitched upon Joubert the hospitaller for this negotiation. He was very well qualified for it by the wisdom of his conduct, which raised him afterwards to the first dignity of his order. This hospitaller embarked immediately, passed into France, and

from

from thence to London, to the court of Henry I. king of England, where he heard the count of Poitiers, who was related to that prince, was gone. The ambassador saw the count, and persuaded him, as well by motives drawn from religion as by the important offer he made him, to pass into Syria. The prince and the ambassador left England, arrived in France, and went down into Provence to embark. The success of this great affair depended entirely upon secrecy, and upon getting the start of a mighty armament, which Roger duke of Calabria, afterwards king of Sicily, was sending into Syria, to support his adherents. Unluckily for the count and the ambassador, there were not in all the ports of Provence any vessels bound for the east, and they heard with great concern that there was no way of embarking but on board the very fleet of Roger. Whatever precaution the ambassador had taken to conceal his commission and designs, that duke had notice, that the count and ambassador were endeavouring to procure a passage into the east, and had issued orders for arresting them, if they were found in any of his ports. His spies, that were planted in every quarter, examined very strictly all that offered themselves for passengers: Yet the hospitaller was too cunning for them; the count and he parted in disguise, went into Calabria, and were received as merchants on board two different ships that were ready to sail. These were Roger's own vessels, and they carried both the count and ambassador into the nearest port to the town of Antioch. The patriarch, a few days after, married the count to the young princess in the king's presence, and in a general assembly of the estates, the count was solemnly acknowledged prince of Antioch, and the great men of the principality took the usual oath of fidelity to him.

But whilst Fulk was thus taken up with securing the count's authority, the frontiers of his own king-

dom were ravaged by various incursions of the Arabians and Saracens of Ascalon. This city, with regard to the Saracens of Egypt, was the key as it were of Palestine. The caliphs had neglected none of the fortifications then in use, and besides a numerous garrison which they maintained there, and changed every three months, these princes, to engage the inhabitants in defence of the place, allowed them all pay, not excepting their very children, if males, who became entitled to it as soon as they were born; so that all were soldiers at Ascalon, and they hardly knew any other profession. It served the Saracens of Egypt for a school, where their young men learned the art of war; they were every day out in parties, and lying in ambuscade to surprise the country people, and even the western pilgrims, who, landing at Jaffa, travelled from thence to Jerusalem.

Queen Melesinda, whom the king, during his absence, had left regent of the kingdom, held several councils upon this occasion; and after several methods proposed for repressing the inroads of the infidels, none was found so proper as to rebuild the walls of the old city of Beertheba. This place, anciently of the tribe of Simeon, is but two leagues from the mountains of Seir, which separate the land of promise from Arabia Petraea, and six leagues from Ascalon. It was resolved, after fortifying it, always to maintain there a standing body of troops, able to make head against the inroads of the Arabians, and the parties which sallied frequently out of Ascalon. The queen caused the work to be carried on with great expedition; and when it was made defensible, committed the guard of it to the hospitallers, who put a strong garrison drawn out of their order into it: And these monastic soldiers*,

* De communi consilio traditur fratribus domus hospitalis quæ est Hierosolymis, qui usque in præsens debita custodierunt diligentia.

full of the spirit of their institution, made it a place of arms, and at the same time an asylum for all the Christians of that canton.

These knights * and the templars, in different brigades, never stirred from the frontiers, and made head on all sides against the enterprizes of the infidels. This little kingdom was in a manner blockaded up and besieged, either by the several Turcoman princes, or by the Arabians of the desert, or the Sarazens of Egypt. The zeal of these knights, their valour, and the renown of their exploits, rendered them soon as dear to all the Christians, as they were terrible to the barbarians; especially in an age when mens salvation seemed annexed to the preservation of the Holy Land. Every thing that passed there drew the attention of popes, princes, and people, even at the remotest distance. 'Twas the concern of private persons as well as sovereigns: they had no notion of meriting for the pardon of their sins by any more effectual way, than that of contributing to the defence of the holy places: there was scarce a will made without an article in it in favour of the military orders: many princes would needs be buried in the habit of one or the other of them; and this sort of devotion was carried so far in the age we are speaking of, that we have seen some sovereigns enter themselves into this holy militia, quitting the government of their states; and others, by an unprecedented disposal, bequeath, at their death, even their dominions themselves to the hospitallers and templars.

Thus Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona and Provence, though already advanced in age, entered into the order of the templars, and his infirmities not allowing him to go in person to the chief house of the order in Jerusalem, he sent considerable sums thither for carrying on the war against the infidels;

* Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 22.

and we have seen this sovereign at last quit his authority, and the ensigns of it, to bury himself alive in the temple at Barcelona, where he died in the continual exercise of his new profession.

Alphonfus I. king of Navarre and Arragon, who also assumed the title of emperor of Spain, carried his zeal and devotion still farther. This prince, who was one of the greatest generals of his age, had gained twenty nine battles in his wars against the Moors *, seeing himself old and without children, declared the hospitallers of St. John, the templars, and the canons or knights of the holy sepulchre, his heirs and successors in the crowns of Navarre and Arragon, by his last will and testament † made A. D. 1131. This he did to engage these renowned warriors in the support of his designs against the Sarazens and Moors of Spain : He renewed this will a few days before his death, and most of the grantees of both his kingdoms, signed it out of complaisance to their sovereign.

Alphonfus, who never knew what danger was, attacking the infidels afterwards near Fraga, with forces much inferior to those of 1133. his enemies, was overwhelmed with their July 19. vast numbers, had his army cut in pieces, and perished himself in the action ; nor could his body be found after the battle was over, either because the Moors had interred it, or it was so disfigured by his wounds, as not to be known. The people, who idolized him, and are always fond of every thing that appears extraordinary, maintained for a long time, that he was not killed in the battle ; but that overwhelmed with shame and grief for having occasioned the loss of so many Christians as had been slain upon that occasion, he was gone in disguise on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that they

* Girom. Zurita. t. 1. l. 1. c. 52. fol. 49. col. 4.

† Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.

should see him return and resume the reins of government, when he had by that penance expiated the fault which excess of courage had made him commit.

But the grandees of the two kingdoms were not to be blinded by this illusion; and therefore to prevent the claim of the military orders, they resolved, without loss of time, to chuse a new sovereign. For this purpose, several assemblies were held between those of Navarre and Arragon: but the lords and deputies of the two nations could not agree upon a prince to fill the throne of the great Alphonfus; each was for a prince of their own nation. This competition, and the natural jealousy between people that are neighbours, broke the union which had subsisted near sixty years between the two kingdoms; a separation ensued, the Navarrese elected for their sovereign Don Ramyre, a prince of the blood of their ancient kings; and the Arragonefe, on the other hand, offered their crown to another prince of the same name, brother to the great Alphonfus, though this prince was a priest, and had above forty years before professed himself a monk in the abbey of St. Pons de Thomiers in Languedoc, and had been afterwards abbot of Sahagun, and even elected successively bishop of Burgos, Pampeluna and Barbastro.

This prince having obtained a dispensation from Anacletus, others say from Innocent II. married Agnes, sister to William count of Poitiers and Raimond count of Antioch. He had by her a daughter, named Petronilla; and the queen, that princess's mother, dying soon after, this king, at once a monk, a priest and a married man, * finding in himself none of the great qualities necessary for a throne, and perhaps touched with a just remorse of conscience, resolved to retire again into his convent.

* Romani pontificis venia (sic credimus) ut rex, conjux et sacerdos, idem esset impetratum: Agnes Guillelmi Picavorum et Aquitanicæ principis connubio junctâ. Mariana l. 10 c. 15. p. 512.

He made a treaty with Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and son to the templar above mentioned, that he should marry his daughter when she was grown up; and in consequence of this treaty, he resigned to him immediately the government of the kingdom, which Raimond Berenger took upon him by the title of prince of Arragon.

The news of the choice made by these two nations in prejudice of Alphonfus's will being brought to Palésthine, the patriarch of Jerusalem, * superior of the canons of the holy sepulchre, and the masters of the two military orders held several councils with the principal persons of each house, to consider of this grand affair, and came to a resolution to send deputies into Spain, to demand the execution of the late king's will, or at least to make such a treaty with regard to the succession as should be most for the interest of the legatees.

Raimond Dupuy was charged with this negotiation; he undertook it readily, and set out in company with some old hospitallers, chosen for that purpose by the council of the order. William, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the templars likewise, named their own deputies: they arrived all happily in Spain, but met with unsurmountable difficulties in the pursuit of so nice an affair.

The lords of Navarre and Arragon had already chosen new sovereigns in prejudice of the will of king Alphonfus. These princes were in possession of the throne when the deputies of the Holy Land arrived in Spain; and there was no great likelihood of their abdicating it voluntarily to make way for foreigners. They entered however at first into some negotiations upon the matter; but as pretensions of this nature, without force to back them, are gene-

* Patriarchalis siquidem ecclesia, quæ est dominici sepulchri sub monte Calvariae, canonicos habet regulares, secundum habitum et regulam sancti Augustini viventes; habent autem priorem, ad quem cum predictis canonicis pertinet eligere patriarcham, qui est eis loco abbas. Jacob. Vitri. hist. Hierosol. c. 58. p. 1098.

rally little regarded, they went no farther than to offer the deputies some sort of amends, if any amends can be made for crowns, and embarrassed them every day in a labyrinth of proposals, which had no meaning, and of which they saw no end. The negotiation flagged insensibly; and at last the king of Navarre taking off the mask, asserted, that the late king could not dispose of the crown to the prejudice of his lawful heirs, or of that natural right which, in default of heirs, the people have to chuse themselves a sovereign; and by this declaration put an end to all hopes of any further treating with him. Raimond, count of Barcelona and prince of Arragon, acted more generously, and resolved to do some justice to the legatees of king Alphonsus.

It was agreed, that if the count, and the young queen Petronilla, whom he was to marry, should die without issue, the crown of Arragon should revert to the military orders and the canons of the holy sepulchre; that in the mean time both parties should have a certain number of vassals in such places as they should afterwards recover from the Moors; and that these vassals should be obliged to bear arms, and follow the military friars of Spain, when ever they took the field against the infidels. *

Besides these conditions, some lands and castles, considerable for their dependencies, and able to maintain a great number of knights, were yielded to these legatees of the sovereignty. And to these lands and lordships were added a tenth part of all the customs and duties levied throughout the kingdom, and the fifth of all the contributions raised on the lands of the Moors; and it was resolved, that the kings of Arragon should never make peace with the infidels, without first acquainting the patriarch of Jerusalem and the two military orders. This

* Quarita t. 1. l. 2. c. 4. f. 40. Mariana l. 10. c. 18.

treaty was signed and ratified in September A. D. 1141, and pope Adrian IV. and Fulk king of Jerusalem confirmed it afterwards.

Raimond Dupuy, having brought this important affair to an end, embarked with other deputies, sailed for Palestine, and arrived happily at Jerusalem. He was received with that real joy and hearty respect which his singular virtue inspired. Brompton and Roger Hoveden, two English historians, who flourished in the same age, call him from this time the Grand Master; and 'tis by this title that I shall for the future speak of this illustrious head of the hospitallers and his successors, most of which sacrificed their lives in defence of the Holy Land.

That ancient kingdom of David, or rather the inheritance of Jesus Christ, lost at this time its king in the person of Fulk of Anjou. That prince, being a hunting in the plains of Acre, was killed by a fall from his horse, and found in an exercise of peace the death which he had dared so often in war. He left two sons very young, Baldwin the eldest, of thirteen, and Amaury of but seven years of age.

The king's death gave birth to cabals, which most minorities are exposed to, and opened afterwards a way to the invasions of the Turcomans and Sarazens. Queen Melesinda, mother of the young princes, not only pretended to the regency which nobody disputed with her, but would moreover be acknowledged as queen in her own right, and sole sovereign of the kingdom, as being daughter to Baldwin Dubourg. The grandees, on the contrary, seeing themselves surrounded by formidable enemies, were for a captain and king at their head. These contests, supported by different parties, had like to have degenerated into a civil war: at last it was agreed to defer the decision of this great difference till the majority

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majority of Baldwin. But it was not long before the nobility caused him to be crowned without the knowledge of the queen his mother, to whom nevertheless they were obliged, for peace sake, to yield up half of the kingdom.

In the interval between the death of Fulk and the coronation of Baldwin III. his son, the Latin Christians lost the county of Edessa, called at that time Rouha or Rohais. We have observed before, that Baldwin Dubourg at his accession to the crown, had resigned this principality to Josceline de Courtenay his cousin, following herein the example of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother, who, to engage the princes and great lords of the crusade in the defence of the Holy Land, had given them the principal lordships and territories of it in fief. Hence arose the counts of Edessa, Tripoli, Joppa, or Jaffa, and afterwards of Afulon, and Galilee, and the lords of Yblim, Mount-royal, Thoron, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Cæsarea, all lords of the first nobility of this new kingdom.

Josceline de Courtenay, whom we have just mentioned, had maintained himself in his principality by a thousand brave actions against the enterprizes of the infidels: but that prince dying, the son whom he left heir to his dominions, did by no means inherit his virtues. The young Courtenay, educated in the pleasures and luxury of the east, spent his life in debauch: and that he might have the fewer witnesses of his irregularities, quitted Edessa, and retired with the ministers of his pleasures to Turbessel, a town situated twenty four miles from the Euphrates on this side the river with regard to Palestine.

Omadeddin Zenghi, a Turcoman of the Selgeucidian race, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, and the most potent prince in all the east, being informed of the effeminate manner in which young Courtenay passed his life, entered his country, and laid siege to Edessa. Courtenay, who

was attended by none but poltroon and effeminate favourites, had not the courage to throw himself into his capital, and either defend it, or bury himself in its ruins; he even looked on whilst the siege was advancing, without making the least motion to reinforce the place, and Zenghi would have stripped him of the rest of his dominions with the same ease, if that prince, harsh and cruel in his nature, had not, in the moment he was preparing to pursue his conquests, been assassinated in his tent by his own servants. He left two sons behind him, Coteledin and Noradin. The eldest reigned at Mosul, and the principality of Aleppo fell to the share of Noradin the younger, a prince of much wisdom, capacity and justice, a good soldier, an excellent officer, and a great general, an enemy to the Christians by a principle of religion, and often engaged in the field against the hospitallers and templars.

After the loss of Edeffa, the affairs of the Latin Christians began to decline in the east. Godfrey de Bouillon, the two Baldwins, Fulk of Anjou, the renowned Bohemund, the brave Tancred, the old Courtenay and the count of Tholouse were now no more; and their descendents, softened and emasculated with the pleasures of Asia, occupied indeed their places, but did not fill them: there was none but the young king Baldwin, and the two military orders, that bravely opposed the enterprizes of the infidels. But as their forces no ways answered their valour, they resolved to have recourse to the princes of Europe, and sollicit a new crusade, that might drive the infidels entirely out of the Holy Land. With this view the bishop of Zabolon was dispatched into Europe, and landed at Marseilles. The first crusade having been raised in France, he came thither to solicit a second.

Louis VII. was then upon the throne, a
 1143. prince young and handsome, full of courage but uneven in his conduct, more scrupulous

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pulous than devout, and utterly ignorant of the great art of reigning. Baldwin's deputy could not have arrived at court in a more favourable juncture. The king being at war with Thibaut, count of Champagne and Blois, his vassal, met with such opposition at the siege of Vitri in Parthois, that being exasperated against the inhabitants, and having carried the place by storm, he put all before him to fire and sword, insomuch, that, it is said, thirteen hundred persons of both sexes, men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in the great church, all perished in the flames of it. A just remorse succeeding so terrible an execution, this prince * resolved to expiate his fault by an expedition to Jerusalem, the common resource and refuge at that time of the greatest sinners. He communicated his design to Pope Eugenius III. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, and 1144. that he might perform this pilgrimage in the most serviceable manner to the Christians of the Holy Land, he entreated the pontiff to cause a new crusade, after the example of Urban II. to be recommended from the pulpit. *

This pontiff, who from a monk of the order of Clairvaux, and a disciple of St. Bernard, had been advanced to the chair of St. Peter, very much commended the pious design of Louis, and to concur with his intentions, sent his briefs through all Christendom, to exhort princes and 1143. their subjects to take up arms. He appointed St. Bernard also, who was the oracle of his age, to preach up the crusade in France and Germany; and to engage the faithful to take the

* Ludovicus rex Vitriacum castrum comitis Theobaldi capit, ubi igne admoio, ecclesiâ incensâ, ut in eâ mille trecentæ animæ diversæ sexûs et ætatis sunt igne consumptæ, super quo rex Ludovicus misericordiâ motus plorâsse dicitur, et hac de causâ perigrinationem Hierosolimitanâ aggressus à quibusdâ æstimatur. Rob. de Monte appendix ad Sigib. ad annum 1143.

* Preuves de l'histoire des comptes de Poitou, pag. 483.

cross, he opened the treasures of the church, and granted a plenary indulgence to all that did so. †

The holy abbot of Clairvaux, upon the pope's order, quits his retreat, he passes successively to the courts of the king of France and the emperor Conrad, he mounts the pulpit, he preaches, thunders, and, full of fire and indignation, represents how great scandal it was for Christians, to suffer the heritage of Jesus Christ, in the land that was watered with his precious blood, to be on the brink of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels. He omits nothing proper to move his auditors, and engage them to take up arms; and it is affirmed, that, transported with zeal, he openly foretold a certain victory and entire defeat of the infidels. The charms of his eloquence, his moving and pathetic expressions, the reputation of his sanctity, the happy success which, as we said before, he is reported to have proclaimed with so much assurance, and some shining miracles also, which the writers of his life ascribe to him on this occasion, and which may be regarded as the surest credentials of a prophet, all this induced the emperor, the king of France, and most of the princes and lords their vassals to take up arms.

A lame child being presented to St. Bernard in the emperor's presence, the holy abbot made the sign of the cross, took up the child, and ordered it, before the whole assembly, to walk; and then turning to Conrad, "This was wrought for you," says he, that you might be assured, that God is "indeed with you, and that your enterprize is "pleasing in his sight."

Several French and German lords, verily persuaded that St. Bernard was entrusted with the power of heaven, and that like another Moses he would work miracles to bring the people of God

into the land of promise, proposed with great importunity, in a council held at Chartres, that he might be obliged to take upon him the general command of the army * ; but the man of God, whose prudence was no ways inferior to his zeal, contented himself with being the herald and trumpeter of it. Having accomplished his mission, he retired into his abbey, and left to warlike princes the honours and perils of the execution.

The emperor and the king of France levied each of them a prodigious number of troops ; each army was computed at no less than seventy thousand men of arms, besides the light horse and infantry : it looked as if the French and Germans had resolved by concert to abandon their country ; and if any capable of bearing arms were upon other accounts detained at home, these new soldiers of the crusade, by way of insult, and as it were to reproach them with their cowardice, sent them a spindle and a distaff. The very women reviving the history or fable of the Amazons, appeared at a review on horseback and in arms, and formed several squadrons.

Eleanor, queen of France, and wife to Louis VII. was at the head of these heroines ; a princess of singular beauty, who, by her marriage, brought the king the provinces of Guienne and Poitou, and who would have been the delight of that prince, if in her pursuit of pleasures she had suffered herself to be less transported by the warmth of her constitution, or had not been suspected to share them with other persons besides the king her husband.

Though it looked as if Germany and France had undertaken to subdue all Asia, (at least these numerous armies, with two great princes at their head,

* De cætero, verbum illud, quod jam, ni fallor, audistis, quomodo videlicet in conventu Carnotensi, quoniam judicio satis minor me quasi ducem et principem militiæ elegerant. Divi Bernardi Ep. 256. ad Eug. Pap.

and

and commanded by brave officers, were but too capable of making that conquest) yet the perfidiousness of the Greeks, ever uneasy and jealous of these great armaments, their ignorance of the roads, the treachery of their guides, the want of provisions, and the numerous and formidable troops which opposed their passage, ruined both these christian armies, even before they arrived in Palestine. They attempted the siege of Damascus, but in vain, and the miscarriage was owing even to some Christians themselves.

Conrad set out first, and arrived at Constantinople towards the end of March, A. D. 1147. He was brother-in-law to Emanuel Comnenus, who then governed the empire of the east. These two princes had married the two daughters of Berenger the elder, count of Luxemburg. This alliance made the German prince presume that he should be well received. The perfidious Greek treated him as his ally, with respect to his private person; but in regard to his troops as a mortal enemy. By his order the wells and cisterns were poisoned in all the places which the Germans passed through; and these strangers were forced to give an excessive price for bread mixed with lime and plaister. His brother-in-law furnished him with guides, who, after leading him out of his way, through by-roads and endless windings, in the mountains and rocks of Cappadocia, delivered his army, half dead with hunger, starved and spent, into the hands of the infidels, who cut it in pieces.

The king of France was scarce more fortunate, and though at the passage of the river Meander, he gained a considerable victory over the infidels, yet upon his arrival at Antioch, he met with a misfortune, which perhaps more sensibly affected him than even the loss of a battle.

Raimond of Poitiers, uncle by the father's side to the queen of France, was then, in right of his wife,

wife, sovereign of that great principality. This prince, by birth a Frenchman and the king's subject, received Louis and the queen his niece with all the marks of honour, and all the magnificence due to his sovereign. There was nothing to be seen for the first days of their arrival, but feasting, balls, and tournaments. Raimond, who hoped to draw some solid advantages from the arrival of the French in his dominions, added to all these demonstrations of the sincerest joy, magnificent presents which he made to the king and the chief officers of his army. His view was to engage Louis, before he advanced into Palestine, to turn his arms against the Mahometan princes his neighbours, with whom he was actually in war. The queen his niece at his request mentioned it to the king, and used the most pressing instances to induce him to a compliance. The interest of the prince her uncle was not the only motive upon which she acted. It is said, that this princess, who was not over scrupulous in point of duty, and was fallen in love with a young baptized Turk, named Saladin, could not think of parting from him. She passionately wished, that whilst the king was marching against her uncle's enemies, he would leave her at Antioch. The king, who began to have some suspicions of this scandalous correspondence, had no other way to avoid the consequences of it, but by taking her by night out of Antioch, and carrying her to Jerusalem. As soon as he arrived there, the emperor of Germany came to join him with the broken remains of his army. These two princes formed the siege of Damascus, and thought themselves so sure of success, that they agreed and promised to confer the sovereignty of the place, and the country belonging to it, upon Thierry count of Flanders. But the news of their design coming to the ears of some Latin lords, whose fathers had, from the time of the first crusade, been settled in Syria, they were so exasperated, that the count

of Flanders, whom they treated as a stranger and new comer in respect of themselves, should be preferred before them, that by an abominable treason and a criminal correspondence with the infidels, they caused the enterprize to miscarry. Louis and

Conrad, detesting their villany, returned 1148. into Europe with the miserable remains of their great armies, and both of them with more chagrin than glory.

If we may believe the greatest part of historians, there were no fewer than two hundred thousand men that perished in this unhappy expedition. By the same means also several of the greatest houses, both of France and Germany, became extinct. Such as were concerned in this general loss, made no scruple to impute it to St. Bernard; the father demanded back his son of him, the wife her husband, and the most outrageous arraigned him as a false prophet. The holy abbot, in his defence, was obliged to make an apology, which he addressed to pope Eugenius III. "They accuse me, says he, of having made fine promises which had no effect, as if I had acted rashly in this affair; whereas I did nothing but execute your orders, or rather those which God gave me by you."

He alledges afterwards the example of Moses, who having brought the Israelites out of Egypt, did not give them possession of the fertile land that was promised them, though he acted only by the orders of God, confirmed by miracles; and he maintains, that the militia of the crusade were not less incredulous, or less rebellious, than the Israelites*: This is one of the reasons upon which Otho, bishop of Frisingen, and brother by the mother's side to the emperor Conrad, lays the greatest stress. That prelate, to vindicate his friend St. Bernard, pretends, that the vices which reigned in the chri-

* De rebus gestis Friderici imperatoris, c. 60. p. 231.

stian armies prevented the effect of his predictions. But may we not answer the German bishop, that this reasoning is perhaps more specious than solid, since if the holy abbot had been endowed with the spirit of prophecy on this occasion, he ought, in virtue of that supernatural light, to have known that they of the crusade would have offended God, and that instead of the victories which his minister bid them expect, he would punish them with all the calamities that befel them. Accordingly the historian himself, who seems to be sensible of the weakness of his own reasoning, is reduced at last to this ingenuous confession, that the spirit of prophecy* does not inspire the prophets on all occasions.

But whatever were the causes of this unhappy event, which we are not allowed to fathom, we shall content ourselves with observing, that those great armies, which flattered themselves with so many conquests, could not take one single town from the infidels; and that the Latin Christians of Syria and Palestine were afterwards reduced to a situation that seemed to threaten them with a total and approaching ruin.

They had nothing less to fear from the Egyptians and the southern quarter. The king, to raise a barrier against these enemies, had caused the walls of old Gaza, one of the five lordships of the Philistines, seven leagues from Ascalon to be rebuilt. That prince gave the government of it in property to the order of the templars †; and these military friars (men, says William of Tyre, full of courage, like the hospitallers) made it a place of arms, from whence they repressed the excursions of the garrison of Ascalon, and forced the Saracens to shut

* Quamquam et spiritus prophetarum non semper subsit prophetis. De rebus gestis Friderici imperatoris. l. i. c. 66. p. 231.

† Milites templi Gazam antiquam Palestinæ civitatem reedificavit, et turibus eam munivit, Ascalonitas graviter infestant. Rob. de mente append. ad chron. Sig. p. 631.

themselves up within their walls. Noradin 1148. in the mean time taking advantage of the consternation into which the retreat of the troops of the crusade had thrown the people, entered the principality of Antioch at the head of his army, ravaged the country, took several small towns; and count Raymond consulting his courage rather than his forces, endeavouring to oppose the torrent, was routed, the greatest part of his troops cut in pieces, and he himself perished in the action.

On the other hand, the sultan of Cögni or Iconium invaded the county of Edessa, ravaged the country, and took young Courtenay prisoner, who died soon after in the chains of that barbarian. Every thing fled before him. The inhabitants of the towns and villages, almost all of them Christians, seeing themselves destitute of succour, abandoned their country and their houses to avoid the tyranny of the infidels. Every one strove to reach some Christian town for security. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, to favour at least their retreat, advanced at the head of his nobility, and the two military orders, to serve them for escorts; he placed all this people, men, women, children, cattle, and baggage, in the midst of the troops he had got together: he posted himself in the van-guard, the count of Tripoli, with Humfrey de Thoron constable of the kingdom, commanded the rear, and in this order they marched towards the principality of Antioch. Noradin, who could not bear that this prey should escape him, advanced immediately at the head of his army, came up with the Christians, and poured in every moment showers of arrows to make them halt. He attempted several times to break the christian troops. They could not march a league without being obliged to fight: the infidels, to retard the march of an army embarrassed enough otherwise with their baggage, returning every moment to the charge. But on what

what side soever they made their attack, they found always either the young king, or the count of Tripoli, at the head of the hospitallers and templars, presenting a terrible front, and bearing down before them every rank and part of the army that durst approach them ; so that Noradin, not able to break them, and wanting provisions, gave over at last the pursuit, and the christian army arrived safe in the territories of Antioch.

Whilst the king was thus employed in rescuing these people from slavery, he was within a few moments of losing his capital, by another enterprize of the infidels. Two of their princes called Jarouquins, Turcomans by nation, whose father or grandfather reigned in Palestine before the Sarazens recovered Jerusalem, being pressed by the reproaches of their mother, and informed of the king's absence, levied a considerable army, marched from their own country, passed through Damascus, fell upon the Christian territories, and advanced up to the gates of the holy city. The inhabitants, in a terrible consternation, saw them incamp in the evening upon mount Oliver. The barbarians flattered themselves, that they should be able the next day to take by escalade, a place where they knew the king had left no garrison ; but out of an excess of confidence, ever dangerous in war, they lost one of those lucky moments on which the greatest successes depend. The inhabitants recovering from their consternation, and encouraged by such hospitallers and templars as were left in the city, took arms ; and as they were much in number to defend their walls, instead of being surprised in the city for the coming up of the enemy, they rushed out in the dark at midnight, fall upon the camp of their enemies, whom they find buried in sleep, set fire to their tents, cut the cordage, and carry terror and death on every side.

The infidels, surprised and terrified with so unexpected

expected an attack, fled for their lives, and their whole force disbanded, without keeping any certain road. As they fled towards Jericho, they fell into a body of cavalry, commanded by the king in person, who, having had advice that they were entered his territories, was advancing to the relief of Jerusalem. Above five thousand were cut in pieces; others were knocked on the head by the christian peasants; and the garrison of Napolousa, which waited for them as they returned, completed the dispersion, and pursued them to the banks of Jordan, where the infidels, to avoid the sword of the Christians, and in hopes of swimming over the river, threw themselves in and were drowned.

The king, to make reprisals, resolved in his turn to ravage the territory of Ascalon; he put himself at the head of his army and, followed by the great masters of the two military orders, and the principal nobility of his kingdom, entered the country destroyed all before him with fire and sword, and demolished abundance of summer-houses and gardens belonging to the chief inhabitants of Ascalon. He advanced next up to the gates of that important place; and having taken a view of it himself, resolved to besiege it. But as he had not troops enough for so great an enterprize, he summoned all the nobility and gentry of his kingdom. Some pilgrims, who were just arrived, generously offered him their service; and the old men of the country, worn out with age, the glorious remains of the first crusade, ran to the front. Each was assigned his proper quarter, and the lord of Sidon, to hinder any succours being thrown into the place, kept the sea with fifteen gallies.

The city of Ascalon, one of the five governments of the ancient Philistines, was seated at the foot of an hill, on the side of the Mediterranean sea, seven leagues from Gaza, which was a Christian city, and the

the frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem on that side next Egypt, situated on the edge of the desert which divides the two kingdoms, and at that time in the possession of the templars.

Ascalon was in figure like a semicircle, formed by the town and buildings, the sea shore making as it were the diameter. It was encompassed with high walls, fortified at proper distances with strong towers, well supplied with warlike engines to throw stones and darts; the ditches were flat bottomed and full of water: some advanced works hindered all approach to the body of the place, and they had added all the fortifications that the art of that time could devise. The king, young as he was, managed this important siege himself. From the time of the great Godfrey de Bouillon there had never been seen in the Holy Land a prince in whom, at so green an age, were united such singular valour, so great a capacity, and such rare talents for war. The siege was long and very obstinate; the attacks brisk and continual; the defence too was brave, and the sallies, or rather the battles, frequent*. The Christians did not get a foot of ground but what cost them a great number of men; and they often lost the next day what they had gained over night, at the expence of the lives of their bravest soldiers. The siege had already lasted five months, with good and ill success alternately, when a strong fleet coming from Egypt, and laden with provisions and land forces, appeared off Ascalon. This fleet consisted of seventy galleys, besides vessels of burden, which carried a prodigious quantity of arms and provisions. The Christian admiral, who had but fifteen galleys, finding himself not sufficiently provided to dispute the passage with the Egyptians, retired as fast as he could, and the infidels landed their suc-

* Will. Tyr. l. 17.

cour without any opposition. It was received with great acclamations of joy by the garrison and inhabitants, who from the towers insulted the christian army, and asked the soldiers when they designed to return to Jerusalem. This seemed indeed the only resolution they had to take; at least it was the sentiment of the nobility, and most of the chief officers in the army. But the great master of the hospitallers, seconded by the patriarch, and the rest of the bishops, was of a contrary opinion †. He represented to the king, that such a step would only serve to depress the courage of his soldiers, and raise that of the enemies, and perhaps put the sultan upon the design of forming in his turn the siege of Jerusalem. Several councils were held upon this occasion: at last the king, after a mature examination of the reasons on both sides, declared himself for the most honourable resolution, and it was determined to continue the siege.

In the mean time, the Egyptians that were landed at Ascalon, being recovered from the fatigues of the sea, made frequent sallies. They thought to gain an easy conquest over the Christians, who had been represented to them as dispirited and worn out with the length of the siege; but they were not long without finding by experience, that valour supplies the want of numbers. The Christians always repulsed them with advantage. As there was no action of this kind but cost the infidels a world of men, their sallies grew less frequent, and their mettle cooled; on the other hand, the courage of the christian soldiers increased; and the templars having filled up the ditch, advanced their works as near as they could to that part of the wall which was opposite to them, causing a tower

† In opposita sententia dominus patriarcha, dominus quoque Tyriensis erant cum clero, consortium habentes dominum Raimundum magistrum hospitalis cum fratribus suis, Wil. Tyr. l. 17. c. 28. p. 918.

er fort of wooden castle of great height to be brought thither. This tower was a machine made use of at that time in sieges, which they drove upon wheels; and when it was within reach of the walls, they let down a wooden bridge with rails, from whence the besiegers annoyed and fought the besieged; and when they met with but little resistance, they threw themselves into the place, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of it.

The Sarazens, one evening before the templars had advanced this machine to the foot of the wall, threw a great quantity of dry wood, bitumen, oil, and combustible matter, near the wooden tower, and then set fire to it, in hopes that the flames would reach the tower. But the design proved fatal to its authors; there arose in the night an easterly wind, which, instead of setting fire to the tower, drove the flakes against the wall, burnt the mortar, with which it was built, and made it give way. Some templars, who did not in the least question but their machine had been burnt, going out of mere curiosity the next day to see the remains of it, were strangely surprized to find it entire, and they perceived at the same time an opening made in the wall, which would facilitate the scaling of it. They immediately advertised their grand master of it: That lord, transported with joy, came privately thither to take a view of the breach himself, and finding it practicable, without giving any account of it to the king, he ordered a brigade of his knights to enter. No sooner did they appear sword in hand, and with that daring countenance that success inspires, but the inhabitants thought the town was taken: Most of them fled immediately to save themselves; and the principal officers of the garrison, to avoid the first fury of the christian soldiers, threw themselves into boats, and put off from the shore. But the great master's avarice hindered the Christians from making their advantage

tage

rage of the fright of the infidels; for this chief of the templars, desirous to secure the whole plunder of the city to himself, instead of sending to the king for more troops to sustain the templars who had entered the place, posted himself with the rest of his knights upon the breach, to keep the soldiers of the Christian army from passing it, in case any of them should perceive the opening made in the wall. In the mean time, the few templars who had thrown themselves into Ascalon, ventured presumptuously into the middle of the city, to have the plunder of the principal houses to themselves, where the inhabitants recovering from their fright, no sooner perceived how small a number there was of them, than they rallied and made head against them. The templars then saw themselves attacked by the troops of the garrison, and from the tops of the houses came pouring down upon them fire-works, scalding water, stones, tiles, and every thing that the besieged found next at hand. The templars, after the loss of a great number of their comrades, were forced to a precipitate retreat; every one fled to regain the breach by which he had mounted at first with so much courage; the great master too was obliged himself to abandon the post he was in possession of; the infidels seized upon it, made cuttings off and entrenchments before the place where the Christians had entered, and by new barricadoes put it in a condition of defence. 'Tis impossible to express the king's indignation and the wrath of the soldiers, which they were apprised that nothing but the avarice of the templars

* Magister militum templi Bernardus Desimelas cum fratribus suis alios autē multos prevenientes ad eum occurrerant, neminem nisi de suis intrare permittentes, eos autem hac intentione dicebantur arcere quatenus primi ingredientiē spolia majora at manibus obtinerent uberiores. — Dum ergo capiditate rapti ad præce participium resistent habere conpositos, ista mortis periculo moriū repant soli. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 27.

had

had occasioned their missing so difficult and glorious a conquest. The inhabitants of Ascalon, on the contrary, increased in confidence and courage; and the next day mixing themselves with the Egyptian garrison, they made a fresh sally in good order, and boldly attacked the lines of the Christians. The fight was bloody, and the success doubtful for a long time; the victory changed sides more than once; the infidels at first filled up several fathoms of the trenches, ruined some redoubts, threw themselves sword in hand into the Christian camp, demolished the tents, and penetrated as far as the king's quarter.

That prince, at the head of the nobility, fought with an invincible courage, and gave time to his troops to recover from their surprise, and get over their first consternation. The templars, eager to wash away with their blood the fault they had committed, exposed themselves like furies in the thickest of the enemies' battalions; and the hospitallers, whose zeal and emulation spurred them on to danger, prodigal of their lives, never heeded the losing them, provided they could kill a Saracen. The Egyptians showed no less courage on their part; they were all for vanquishing or dying. This sally or rather battle, lasted from morning till evening. At last the infidels, astonished at the invincible courage of the Christians, and daunted with the force of their blows, began to give way a little. The king, seeing them flag, resumed new vigour, and broke into them sword in hand. It was afterwards a mere butchery rather than a fight. The christian soldiers, breathing blood and vengeance against the infidels, gave no quarter; torrents of blood ran down the lines, and most of the Egyptians that came to the succour of Ascalon, perished in this sally. Such as could escape the fury of the christian soldiers got back into the town, carrying thither, with the shame of their defeat, a despair of saving

saving the place. The inhabitants upon the loss of this reinforcement, lost likewise all hopes of raising the siege. There was a general consternation; the old men, women, and children, never stirred from the mosques, wearying out heaven with their vain prayers; such as had still any health and strength left, employed themselves in making intrenchments behind the walls of the city; but a stone of a prodigious bigness, thrown from one of the engines of the besiegers, falling by chance upon a great beam carried by forty men, most of whom were mangled to pieces, the terror of the people, already preposessed that they could not resist the Christians, increased to such a degree, that they resolved to prevent the terrible consequences of an assault by a timely composition.

A suspension of arms was first agreed on, under pretence of carrying off the dead on both sides; and by means of this truce they entered into a negotiation. The treaty was soon concluded between the parties, the one of which was afraid of being carried by storm, and the other of a new success obliging them to raise the siege; so they stamped up an agreement, that the Saracens should deliver up the place immediately to the Christians, and that the latter should furnish them waggons with a convoy to carry their effects to Larish, a city in the desert; which was executed punctually August 12. A. D. 1154*.

There has been no conquest since that of Jerusalem, either more glorious or more useful than this of Ascalon. The christian garrison here was placed there, joining with that of Gaza, raised contributions even in Egypt itself. The news of its being taken was received with extraordinary joy in Europe: They were well apprized of the part which the master of the hospitalers had in it, and the ac-

* The continuator of Sigbert places this event in A. D. 1153.

knowledge of his services was, in all probability, the reason why pope Anastasius IV. granted new privileges to the order, and confirmed the old ones, as may be seen in the bull of this pontiff addressed to Raimond Dupuy. The pope therein declares, that following the example of his predecessors Innocent II. Celestine II. Lucius II. and Eugenius III. he takes the hospital and house of St. John into the protection of St. Peter; that he allows the hospitallers to build churches and church-yards in all the lands and seigniories belonging to them, and to inter their deceased brethren there, with all the ceremonies of the church, notwithstanding any interdiction laid out by the ordinary, and even to say or cause mass and divine service to be said once a year in any other interdicted churches, if lying in the road which the hospitallers are obliged to travel in obedience to the orders of their superiors.

The holy father, directing his discourse to them, says, "As you, my brethren, make so worthy an use of your goods and possessions, employing them for the maintenance of the poor, and entertainment of pilgrims, we forbid all the faithful, of what dignity soever they are, to exact the tythe of your lands, or to publish any ecclesiastical sentence of interdict, suspension, or excommunication, in the churches belonging to you; and in case of a general interdict laid upon whole counties, you may still continue to have divine service said in your churches, provided it be done with the doors shut, and without ringing of bells. We grant you likewise the liberty of admitting priests and clerks, as well into your principal house of Jerusalem, as into the other subordinate houses that depend upon it. And if any bishops or ordinaries oppose it, you may nevertheless, in virtue of the authority of the holy see, receive them after proper testimonials of their conduct; and such priests and clerks shall be absolutely

“ absolutely exempted from their jurisdiction, and
 “ be subject only to the holy see and your chapter.
 “ You may likewise receive laiks of free condition
 “ for the service of the poor. And as for such
 “ brothers as have been once admitted into your
 “ society, we forbid them to quit it, or to enter
 “ into any other order, under pretence of greater
 “ regularity. And with regard to the dedication
 “ of your churches, the consecration of your al-
 “ tars, and the ordination of your clergy, you shall
 “ apply to the bishop of the diocese, if he be in
 “ communion with the holy see, and will confer
 “ holy orders gratis; but if not, you are authori-
 “ sed by the holy see to chuse any bishop you shall
 “ see fit. Moreover, we confirm anew all grants
 “ of lands and seignories in the present possession
 “ of your house, or which you shall hereafter ac-
 “ quire on this side the sea or beyond it, as well in
 “ Europe as in Asia. In fine, (says Anastasius, di-
 “ recting his speech to the great master), when it
 “ shall please God to take you to himself, we or-
 “ dain that your brother hospitallers shall have full
 “ and entire liberty to elect your successor, any
 “ force or contrivance to the contrary whatsoever
 “ notwithstanding.”

Though this bull of pope Anastasius was in the
 main only a confirmation of the privileges which his
 predecessors had already granted to the order of St.
 John, yet Foucher, then patriarch of Jerusalem,
 and the other Latin bishops of Palestine, resolutely
 opposed these exemptions, which were so many di-
 minutions of their jurisdiction and revenues.

Of all the ecclesiastical penalties inflicted by popes
 and bishops upon sinners, that of a general excom-
 munication or interdict, though scarce so much as
 known in the primitive church, was at that time
 the most frequent. They made use of it against
 princes that were refractory to the church; the
 thunder-bolt was levelled at their dominions; all
 their

their subjects were involved in the sentence, and a multitude of innocent persons suffered, on account of a single offender. The form and manner of executing this sentence had nothing in it but what was dismal and even terrible. The altars were intirely stripped; the crosses, the shrines for relicks, the images and statues of the saints were laid flat upon the ground, and covered all over, to signify that it was a time of grief and mourning: The bells ceased to be rung, and were even taken down from the belfreys: No sacrament was administered, but baptism to children newly born, and confession and the communion as a viaticum to dying persons: No mass was said in churches but with the doors shut; flesh was prohibited, during the interdict, as much as in lent; and to such a height was this rigour carried, that people were forbidden to greet one another, or be shaved, nor was it permitted to give the tonsor, or cut the hair of the priests or clergy.

But what is still more deplorable is, that some popes and bishops often employed these arms against kings and sovereign princes, and for interests purely temporal. 'Twas one of the surest instruments of their government. The people, frightened to see themselves deprived of the outward exercise of religion, forced their sovereigns, for fear of a general revolt, to submit to the yoke. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if the patriarch of Jerusalem, and other Latin bishops of the east, bore impatiently, that whilst the kings of Jerusalem, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli, were not exempt from their jurisdiction in point of the interdict, the popes should grant this privilege to the hospitallers: These prelates too were not less aggrieved with the exemption from tythes, which they had seized after the conquest of the Holy Land, to the prejudice of the clergy of the Greek church.

The natural desire of preserving great possessions, and defending their authority, motives which touch

men to the quick, broke the union which had hitherto subsisted between the secular clergy and the hospitallers. The bishops could not bear to think, that the holy see had dispensed with the knights from paying them the tythe of all their possessions, and they extended this right and their pretensions even to the booty that might be gained from pillaging the camp and territories of the infidels. The privilege likewise which the hospitallers had obtained of saying or causing divine service to be said in their churches during the interdict, notwithstanding they did it with the doors shut, brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the secular clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Besides these general grievances, Foucher the patriarch complained of one particular relating to himself, viz. that the hospitallers, whose church and house stood near the church of the holy sepulchre, had erected more magnificent buildings than his own church and palace: The complaints were bitter on both sides; the one founded their claim on common right, the other pleaded their privileges in bar of that right. Invectives and abusive language succeeded these reciprocal complaints; and, what is not to be mentioned without concern, they proceeded at last to acts of violence. 'Tis said, that arrows were shot from the quarter of the hospitallers against the priests of the patriarch. These ecclesiasticks indeed did not return force for force; but out of a more refined sort of vengeance, they gathered up these arrows, tied them in a bundle, and, to preserve the memory of so odious an outrage, fixed them up at the entrance of the church of Calvary. William Archbishop of Tyre relates this fact as an eye witness *; but that writer, though no way favourable to the hospital-

* l. 17. c. 3. p. 932.

lers, owns at the same time, that the great master was revered as a good man that feared God : These are his very words. He adds, that the cause of these diffensions ought to be laid upon the popes, who had exempted these military friars from the episcopal jurisdiction.

The patriarch, to obtain a repeal of these privileges, which were so odious to him, undertook the western voyage, though near an hundred years old, and resolved to go in person to Pope Adrian IV. who was then upon the holy see. He was accompanied with Peter Archbishop of Tyre the historian's predecessor, Baldwin archbishop of Cæsarea, Frederic bishop of Acre, Amaury of Sidon, Constantine of Lydda, Renier of Sebaste, and Herbert of Tiberias. The great master and council of the order sent deputies also on their part, to answer the complaints of these prelates ; and, if we may believe William archbishop of Tyre, these deputies had got the start of the patriarch, and by great presents had made the pope and whole court of Rome their friends. Foucher and the other bishops of Palestine had audience of the pope at Ferento, a little town near Viterbo. This great affair was debated at several sessions before the pope and the whole college of cardinals ; and for the better maintaining of the rights of the parties, both sides were allowed advocates and lawyers to plead for them. The bishops complained that the hospitallers, abusing their privileges, received excommunicate persons into their churches, and in case of death gave them Christian burial ; that during the interdict laid upon the city, they had rung their bells, contrary to an express clause in their privileges, that their church being near that of the holy sepulchre, they let them continually a ringing whilst the patriarch was preaching the word of God to the people, on purpose to hinder his being heard ; and that they refused to

pay tythe of their revenues in all the dioceses of Palestine, where they had any lands and estates.

The archbishop of Tyre, after relating all the complaints of the clergy, says nothing of the defence made by the hospitallers; he only gives us to understand, that they got the affair protracted; that by their presents and interest in the court of Rome they kept the pope from giving judgement in it, and the patriarch and bishops of Palestine, seeing plainly of themselves, and having secret advice from their friends, that they should never obtain any sentence, took leave of the sovereign pontiff, and returned home, says the historian, loaded with confusion. He adds, * that of all the cardinals there were but two so just and faithful to Jesus Christ, as to declare themselves in favour of the clergy; that the pope and all the rest of them, corrupted by the presents of the hospitallers, followed, says he †, the steps of Balaam, son of Bosor; a comparison certainly very odious, and the more so, because of the two cardinals, that were, according to this author, so faithful to Jesus Christ. For one of them was Octavian, who set himself up afterwards for antipope, by the name of Victor II. and caused a terrible schism and infinite mischief to the church; and the other was John de Morson, cardinal of St. Martin, one of the ministers of his ambition, and the principal abettor of the schism.

To justify entirely the memory of Adrian 1156. an, we are indispensibly obliged to observe, that this pontiff, one of the most disinterested popes that ever sat upon the throne of St. Peter, far from enriching his family out of the treasures of the holy see, gave not the least share of them to his relations; that he carried his disinterestedness even to an unwarrantable rigour; and though his

* l. 18. c. 8.

† l. 18. c. 3.

mother, who survived him, was reduced to extreme poverty, all that he did for her was, by his will to recommend her to the charity of the church of Canterbury. But if we may believe Bosio, his bare declaring in favour of the hospitallers was enough to draw upon him all the bitterness that flows, says he, from the pen of that partial historian: *

After all, the patriarch of Jerusalem and his historian could not but know, that the predecessors of Anastasius had before this granted the hospitallers most of the privileges in question, without any complaint ever being made of their being procured by bribery. But it is probable enough, that the popes being engaged in troublesome wars, either against the emperors of the west, or the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and even against the inhabitants of Rome, were not unwilling to exempt the hospitallers and templars from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries, thereby to engage more particularly in their interests, so considerable a military body, whose power and riches were continually increasing in all parts of Christendom.

I shall not take upon me to give an account of the several settlements made in those times in favour of the hospitallers of St. John: this would carry me too far. But I think myself obliged to observe, that part of the great revenues of the hospitallers and templars came chiefly from the princes, nobility, and gentry, who, upon taking the habit and cross of the two orders, gave them most of their great seigniories. Thus about that time Guy, count and sovereign of Forcalquier, taking the cross and habit of an hospitaller, gave to the order of St. John his castle of Manosque, which contained such considerable lands and seigniories, that they made a

* Nella narrazione della qual istoria il sus detto archivescovo di Tiro aggrava molto la mano addosso a gli hospitalieri, scrivendla in questo particolare piu tosto come prelato et archivescovo orientale, et consequentemente come interessato et appassionato, che come istorico. Bosio, l. 6. p. 197.

bailiwick of it afterwards, with the title of bailiff instead of commander. The grandees of Spain did not come behind the French in these sentiments of esteem for the two military orders, and the historian of Arragon tells us, that about A. D. 1153, Don Pedro Dartal, the first baron of that kingdom, gave to the hospitallers and templars the city of Borgia, with its dependencies, which they exchanged afterwards with Raimond Berenger, prince of Arragon, for Dumbel, and the castles of Alberic and Cibanos.

These donations so frequent at that time, will be less surprising, if we consider the admirable use that these military friars made of them. Out of all their great revenues, the hospitallers and templars had only a very frugal subsistence; the rest was either dedicated to the maintenance of the poor, or employed in carrying on the war against the infidels.

Yet these warriors, so fierce and terrible in the day of battle, were quite other men when they came back to their convent. Scarce had they laid aside their arms, but they resumed with the regular habit all the exercises of their first profession. Some applied themselves to the service of the sick; others were taken up in entertaining the pilgrims; some cleaned their arms, or mended the accoutrements of their horses; and all, in their respective employs, kept a religious silence, and seemed as reserved and pensive as if they had been hermits and anchorites: a new manner of life, very rare and unknown till then, wherein, without being entirely confined to the cloister, or engaged in the world, they practised successively all the virtues of two such opposite conditions. This we learn from St. Bernard, a contemporary writer, who, in the description which he has left us of the templars manner of life, has drawn a sort of living picture of the military friars of those times, such an one as it is to be wished their successors had always before their eyes.

“ They

" They live together, says that holy abbot, in an agreeable but frugal manner; without wives or children, or having any thing in property to themselves, even so much as their own will. They are never idle, nor rambling abroad; and when they are not in the field marching against the infidels, they are either fitting up their arms, and the harness of their horses, or else employing themselves in pious exercises by order of their superior. An insolent expression, an immoderate laughter, the least murmur, does not pass without a severe correction. They detest cards and dice, they are never allowed the diversion of hunting, or useless visits; they abominate all shows, drolleries, discourses, or songs of a loose nature; they bathe but seldom, are generally in an undress, their face burnt with the sun, and their look grave and solemn. When they are entering into an engagement, they arm themselves with faith within and steel without, having no ornaments either upon their dress, or upon the accoutrements of their horses; their arms are their only finery, and they make use of them with courage, without being daunted, either at the number or force of the barbarians; all their confidence is in the God of hosts; and in fighting for his cause they seek a sure victory, or a christian and honourable death*."

The lustre of their virtues, and the glory they acquired daily by their valour, raised a generous emulation among the nobility and gentry of Spain. We observed, at the beginning of this history, that the Moors in the eighth century took the greatest part of that kingdom from the Goths. It is well known, that the Christians which remained of that nation, flying from the persecution of the infidels, retired at first into the mountains of the Asturias, from whence they sallied out afterwards, under the

* St. Bernard exhortatio ad milites templi.

conduct of Pelagius, to defend their liberty and religion. That prince, by little and little, enlarged the bounds of his kingdom. His successors were yet more prosperous; they recovered several provinces from the Moors; and these Christian princes, who carried on the war in different quarters, to preserve a reciprocal independency among themselves, erected these provinces over which they assumed a sovereignty into so many kingdoms. Such is the original of the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Arragon, Portugal, Valentia, &c. The Moors too on their side had cantoned out their conquests, and we find among those barbarians the kings of Toledo, Cordova, Murcia, and Granada. The one was every day in action against the other, and for several ages there was a continual war between them. Some Spanish gentlemen, in imitation of the templars and hospitallers, and for the defence of religion, formed hereupon several societies and military orders, composed only of the nobility and gentry of that nation: of these the order of Calatrava is reckoned the most ancient.

Don Sanchez, the third king of Castile, having won from the Moors the city of Calatrava, a strong place and frontier of the kingdoms of Castile and Toledo, committed the government and defence of it to the templars: but these knights having afterwards advice that the kings of the Moors had joined their forces to besiege it, and finding themselves too few to defend it, they delivered the place back again to the king.

Sanchez had need of all his forces to keep the field and make head against the Moors, who threatened at the same time to break into Castile. That prince in this distress declared, that if any one was able and brave enough to undertake the defence of Calatrava, he would give it him in property, to be held under the immediate sovereignty of his crown. But the formidable power of the Moors had so in-

timidated most of the grandees of his court, that there was not one who offered to throw himself into a place, which was going to have at the foot of its wall the whole forces of the infidels. The king was in utter despair of being able to save it, when a monk of the Cistercian order, professed in the abbey of Fitero in Navarre, called brother Diego Velasquez, who, before his profession, had served a long time as a soldier, proposed to his abbot Don Raimond, with whom he was come into Castile, to make the king an offer to sustain the siege with his own vassals, and at his own expence.

The king, who was well informed of the riches of that abbot, and the reputation which Velasquez had formerly acquired in the army, accepted their offer, especially at a juncture when he had no other choice to make. The abbot and his monk returned with all possible expedition into Navarre, and brought back with them near twenty thousand men, most of them their own vassals or neighbouring Frenchmen that were willing to share in so generous an enterprise; and they were afterwards joined by several Castilian gentlemen; at the same time they supplied the place with provisions and ammunition, and this military colony added to the fortifications of the city a fort which covered it entirely.

It was out of this body of Navarrese and Castilian gentlemen, who threw themselves into Calatrava, that the military order of that name was afterwards formed, viz. A. D. 1158. From the same motive of making war against the Moors of Spain, there arose about A. D. 1175, a second military order, dedicated to St. James of the sword, and A. D. 1212, the order of Alcantara was instituted. These three particular orders, confined to Spain, were distinguished from one another by crosses of different colours, but all equally terminated by flower de lues; a circumstance which would make one imagine, that the Spaniards took these flowers from

from the arms of France, to preserve the memory of those succours which the French had brought them from time to time in their wars against the infidels.

Such were the military friars in the first age of their institution, which, in respect of them, may be reckoned the golden age of these orders. The hospitallers, templars, and Spanish knights, were distinguished no less by a solid piety, than by their valour; but that blessed time did not last above an age: the man of war got insensibly the better of the monk; and valour, love of glory, and oftentimes the desire of amassing wealth, made their devotion and piety flag insensibly. Ambition, and views of aggrandizing themselves by particular conquests, began to infect these orders; though founded originally upon the vow of poverty. Out of this humane motive it was, that the hospitallers of Palestine refused a little before to undertake the defence of Paneas, unless Humphrey de Thoron, to whom the place belonged, would consent to divide the property and revenues of it with them. That lord was forced to purchase the assistance of their arms with this condition; and it was not till after such a cession was made, that they prepared to march to the succour of the place.

Paneas, a city of Phœnicia, called formerly Cæsarea Philippi, and situated at the foot of mount Libanus, was a frontier of the principality of Damascus, of which Noradin, that formidable enemy of the Christians, was the sovereign. The hospitallers, having agreed upon their terms with Humphrey, loaded a great number of horses and camels with arms, ammunition and provisions; all which set out from Jerusalem under a numerous convoy, and advanced towards the city, the last of the kingdom on that side. Noradin having notice from his spies of the departure of the convoy, laid an ambush in the way, and when the hospitallers drew near

near to Paneas, they found themselves surrounded on all sides. However, they made a brave defence, and fought a long while with their usual valour; but were forced to yield at last to superior forces: they were bore down by the vast number of the infidels, favoured at the same time by the advantage of the post they had seized, and most of the hospitallers that went upon this expedition perished in it: nor was this defeat the last disaster that happened to the Christians. Noradin, in hopes of finding the inhabitants in a consternation at this loss, laid siege to the place, and after a brisk and continual attack of some days, made himself master of the town. He then prepared to attack the castle, whether the inhabitants had retired; but having advice that the king of Jerusalem was marching with great expedition to make him raise the siege, this infidel prince, who dreaded his valour, set fire to the city, and retired with precipitation. But he had not got far, before he entrenched himself in a craggy place, where he could not be forced, and from thence observed the march of the christian army. The king entered Paneas without opposition, repaired the confusions which the enemy and the fire had caused, and putting troops and provisions into the castle, set out upon his return for Jerusalem. He marched with too much rashness and security to be upon his guard, and had even sent away his foot before him. Noradin quitted the place he had retired to, advanced into the country, and got before him without his having any notice of it; and having found a spot proper for an ambuscade, waited at the passage, surprized him, and fell upon his troops, which were broken almost without fighting. All that they could do was to save the king, but most of the christian nobility and officers were taken prisoners. The templars had no better success upon this occasion, than the hospitallers in the former action, and brother

ther Bertr nd de Blanchford their great master, a pious and devout man, says William of Tyre, was taken prisoner with brother Odo, one of his knights and marshal of the kingdom.

The taking of the town of Paneas was the first fruit of the victory of the infidels. They entered it a second time without much difficulty, but miscarried before the castle, a place well fortified, and into which the garrison of the town and the inhabitants had retired. As I relate these different events no farther than I am obliged by the share the military order, whose history I write, had in them, I shall not dwell on what passed in Syria during the rest of the year; and shall only observe, that Noradin, always on the watch to extend his conquests, took the field early the year following, and laid siege to the castle of Sueta or Czueta, an ancient city, as it is said, of the country of Hus. The Latin Christians had carefully fortified this place, which was situated in the straits of the mountains, and opened an easy passage into the plains of Damascus.

The king of Jerusalem, who knew the importance of this fort, immediately assembled all his troops, and supported by a good body of cavalry, brought him by Thierry count of Flanders his brother-in-law, he resolved to try again the fortune of war, rather than let a place of such consequence be lost. The christian army advanced on the side of the mountains, and had no difficulty to find the enemy, Noradin by the advice of Siracon his general chusing rather to draw his troops out of their lines than let himself be attacked in his
1148. camp. He marched up to meet the Christians, and gave them battle in the plains of Putaha. The armies soon engaged. The soldiers on both sides as it were in concert, without shooting an arrow, and contrary to the practice of those times, advanced fiercely sword in hand. The king
I at

at the head of the principal lords of his kingdom, and followed by the military orders, in which the strength of his army lay, charged the enemy first, drove all before him that stood in his way, and had the less trouble to break that first body, because the Turcomans usually put their worst troops in the vanguard. But after this first trial of each other's force, Siracon appeared at the head of a new line, composed of old soldiers; he rallied the fugitives and restored the battle. Upon this occasion the Christians and infidels made extraordinary efforts, and both of them, supported by the view and example of their sovereigns and generals, fought a long while with equal fury, without either side's giving way, or the least appearance of fear and terror. No sooner was one soldier killed than another stepped up in his place, and whatever danger there was in the first ranks, every one was pressing to get thither: never was there seen so furious and bloody a battle. The Christians, enraged to find so long a resistance, and animated by the generous reproaches of their officers, made a fresh effort, and as if they had received a new reinforcement, flung themselves in so resolute a manner into the thickest of the enemies battalions, that the infidels, not able any longer to support this last charge, were obliged to retire and give ground, though still in good order and keeping their ranks. But the king of Jerusalem and the count of Flanders, coming up at the head of a large body of cavalry, during this motion which the enemy was forced to make, obliged them to fly outright and disband entirely. More than 6000 soldiers on the infidels side lay dead upon the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. All the honour of the day was justly ascribed to the king, a young prince of excellent valour. His courage multiplied him, as we may say, on such occasions, and particularly in this last battle; he was seen almost at the same

time in different places, and in every one where the danger was greatest, and his presence necessary.

It is not known whether the great master of the hospitallers was in this action: his age probably excused him from it, he being above fourscore years old. The venerable old man, covered with wounds, and worn out with years, had withdrawn himself to the house of the hospitallers of St. John at Jerusalem. There in a profound retirement, amidst serious reflections, and in continual exercises of piety, this genuine soldier of Jesus Christ prepared himself for the great day that is so terrible even to the holiest monks. He saw at last that dreadful moment arrive which decides the fate of an eternity: but if he saw its approaches with a wholesome fear, it was also with the filial confidence of a true Christian, who had exposed his life a thousand times in defence of the holy places, where the author of life himself vouchsafed to die for the salvation of man. Thus ended his days in the arms of his brethren, Raimond Dupuy, the first of the military great masters, much greater by his solid piety and rare valour, than by his dignity, and such as we may compare at the same time to the holiest founders of regular orders, and the greatest generals of that age. The hospitallers, and indeed all the Latin Christians of the east, who had been witnesses of his virtues, anticipating his canonization, revered him as of the number of the blessed; a title which posterity confirmed to him.

BOOK II.

AS soon as the hospitallers had paid their last duties to the great master, they assembled for the choice of his successor. Brother Auger de Balben was proposed to fill that great post. The disinterestedness, modesty and humility * which reigned in that first age of the order, prevented the putting up of any competitor. Balben was elected with the acclamations **AUGER DE BALBEN.** and concurrent suffrages of all the chapter. He was a French gentleman, of the province of Dauphine, an old comrade in war of Raimond Dupuy's, of a great age, revered in the order for his piety and prudence, and of great weight for his advice in the king's council.

History affords us a proof of it on occasion of the schism raised in the church upon the death of pope Adrian IV. Cardinal Roland, chancellor of the church of Rome, had been raised to the chair of St. Peter by the votes of the greatest part of the cardinals; and had merited this advancement by his piety and great experience in the government of the church, wherein he had always had a great share. He took the name of Alexander III. yet in opposition to this canonical election, cardinal Octavian, hurried away by his ambition, and supported by most of the senators and grandees of Rome, who were his relations, had caused himself to be declared pope by the name of Victor III. by John de Morson cardinal of St. Martin, and Guy de Crema cardinal of St. Calixtus. The emperor,

* Ad hoc etiam milites templi Hierosolymitani, ac fratres de hospitali, sub religioso habitu continenter viventes, ubique se multiplicando in religioſitate ſe defendebant. Chron. Guil. de Nangis ad ann. 1132.

who, in his disputes with the court of Rome, had experienced the steady and resolute disposition of cardinal Roland, favoured the intrusion of the antipope; the kings of France, England, Naples and Sicily declared themselves for Alexander. This competition divided the whole church, and produced the fatal schism we are speaking of.

The pope, desirous to be acknowledged by the Latin church of the east, sent John, cardinal priest of St. John and St. Paul, thither as his legate. Some Genoese vessels carried the legate into Phœnicia, and he landed at Gibyle, formerly called Gebal. He immediately dispatched a copy of his powers to the king, and requested that prince's permission to exercise his legatine authority throughout the kingdom. But as the opinions of the

1160. council were divided, the king sent him word to stay at Gibyle, till he was better informed of what had passed in the election of

1161. the two pretenders. In the mean time a council was called at Nazareth, at which were present Amaury patriarch of Jerusalem. Peter archbishop of Tyre, all the bishops of Palestine, and the grand masters of the two military orders. The king too thought proper to be there, together with his council and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

The business of the council was to determine which of the popes should be acknowledged in Palestine. The opinions were divided; some declared in favour of Alexander, others preferred the antipope; and besides divers facts alledged to justify the canonicalness of his election, they represented, that this cardinal in Adrian's lifetime, had, upon all occasions, with great zeal, defended the interests of the church and clergy of Palestine. But the reader may see in the former book, that this pretended zeal consisted only in his declaring against the hospitallers, in concert with the cardinal of St. Martin, at the assembly of Ferento.

This was the chief motive which engaged some bishops to favour Octavian. The king, who was afraid that this diversity of sentiments might occasion a schism in his dominions, started a third opinion. He proposed to the fathers of the council not to declare for either of the pretenders, till the church had decided the question in a general council; that however, in consideration of the legate's merit, they should allow him to come to Jerusalem, make his stations there, and visit the holy places, but only as a private man, and without exercising any act of his legatine power.

"The schism (says he, according to William of Tyre) is but beginning; we do not yet know clearly enough which side has the better right. Why then should we make so hasty a determination in an affair of such mighty importance? Besides, (adds the prince), what need has the church of Palestine of a legate, an officer of the court of Rome? Do not we know, that such persons never enter a kingdom without ruining the churches and monasteries by their exactions? And can a state, exhausted by continual wars, which must be maintained against the infidels, furnish such immense sums as they exact, under colour of defraying the necessary expences of their legation."

A motive so pressing, in which the clergy were particularly interested, and supported by a prince whom all men honoured for his great qualities, drew most of the bishops over to his opinion: and it would have passed unanimously, if the archbishop of Tyre, seconded by the great master, had not generously opposed it *. The archbishop represented with great force, that Alexander's election was canonical, and made with the consent of the soundest part of the clergy and people of Rome; that the

* Bosio; lib. 6.

disturbance which an ambitious cardinal raised in the church could nowise excuse the faithful from the actual obedience which all Christians owed to the lawful vicar of Jesus Christ; that the way of suspension on this occasion was no security to their consciences; and that for his part he was resolved to adhere to a pope, in whose election the votes of most of the cardinals and the wishes of all good men concurred. In a word, this prelate spoke with so much zeal and resolution, that he brought the king over to his opinion. The legate was admitted into the kingdom; but he had not long exercised his functions there, and exacted the dues of his legatine office, but he became a charge to those very persons who had from the first shewn the greatest eagerness of his reception: these are the very words of William archbishop of Tyre.

The patriarch of Jerusalem wrote in his own name and in that of his suffragans to pope Alexander, to acquaint him with what had passed in his favour in the synod of Nazareth. "Being informed (says he, in his letter to him) that your election was made by an unanimous concurrence of the clergy and people, we have allowed and approved of it; and, in consequence thereof, have excommunicated Octavian, with the two cardinals John and Guy, and their abettors, and have unanimously made choice of, and received you for our temporal lord and spiritual father." I make no question but it will appear astonishing to see this patriarch, even in the king's presence, give the pope the title of temporal lord; but it will be less surprising, if we consider, that the court of Rome had formerly endeavoured * to make it pass for a maxim, that all the conquests which the Christians

* Ep. Urb. II. apud Ughel. l. 3. p. 423. Ep. Adrian IV. tom. 10. Concil. edit. Cossart p. 1144. Joan de Salisbury metalog. 4. c. ult. Matt. Paris ad an. 1155.

had gained over the infidels, and all islands, especially where Christianity was established, belonged of right to the holy see; that the popes were the supreme sovereigns of them, and that other princes enjoyed them only by a title of suzerainete, or subaltern sovereignty. It is well enough known what regard is paid now a days to these ultramontain pretensions.

If we may believe Bosio, all the hospitallers, by their adherence to the holy see, had a great hand in the ready obedience that the church of Palestine paid to Alexander III.

The grand master of this order was not less sufficient or less successful in terminating a famous difference that rose not long after in the kingdom about the nature of government. King Baldwin III. being poisoned at the age of thirty three, and after a reign of twenty years, by a Jewish or Arabian physician, Noradin's ministers and commanders advised him to improve the opportunity and invade Palestine. "God forbid," replied that generous prince, "that I should take advantage of the misfortune of the Christians, from whom, after the death of so great a prince, I have nothing more to fear."

Baldwin dying without children, the succession, according to the established usage ever since the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, descended upon prince Amaury his brother. But Feb. 1163. some great lords, who secretly aspired to the throne of Jerusalem, maintained, from the very example of Godfrey de Bouillon, that the crown was entirely elective. They added, that if his successors had inherited it, it was not so much in virtue of their birthright, as by reason of the opinion men had of their valour, and by way of acknowledgment for the important services they had done the state; in a word, that the crown ought to be only the price and recompence of merit and valour.

Several

Several gentlemen, without having such high pretensions as these great lords, did yet adhere to their party out of the fear that had been instilled into them of young Amaury's government *, a prince indeed of great courage, bold, enterprising, and even of a superior genius ; but proud, haughty, presumptuous, the ordinary foibles of youth ; and, what was more surprising at his age, covetous, and suspected of thinking no means unjust that could contribute to swell his exchequer.

Yet this prince was not without his partisans : all the gentry and military men, who had received favours from his family, were inviolably attached to him. The clergy and people, who honoured the memory of the kings Fulk and Baldwin, declared openly for Amaury. Besides, as he was possessed of the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon, by way of appanage, he soon saw himself at the head of a powerful army ; and that of the great lords began to decline and lessen every day through the diversity and competition of their interests and pretensions.

However, both parties made preparations for war, and it looked as if this great dispute could have been determined no other way than by force ; but most of the good men, who foresaw with grief the dismal consequences of a civil war, laboured and interposed for an accommodation. The grandmaster of the hospitaliers had the principal share in it. That wise old man, still more venerable for his virtue than his age, represented to those grandees, who were most jealous and fond of their pretensions, that the division they were raising in the kingdom tended directly to open the gates of Jerusalem to the Sarazens or Turcomans ; that the crown which they refused to put upon Amaury's head would infallibly pass upon that of Noradin, or the caliph of Egypt : “ And if this misfortune hap-

"pens, (says he to them), what will become of you?
 "you will be the slaves of infidels and the contempt
 "of Christians; you will be looked upon as traitors
 "and Judases, who have delivered the Saviour
 "of the world a second time into the hands of his
 "enemies." The grand master by such discourses
 calmed the storm, and brought these lords insensibly
 over to the prince's party; and after some negotiations,
 wherein each malecontent took care of his private interest,
 they went all in a body to assure Amaury of their submission.
 That prince was afterwards crowned in the church of the holy
 sepulchre the 18th February A. D. 1163, 1163.
 and all the estates of the kingdom solemnly took the oath of fidelity to him.

The grand master, worn out with years, did not long
 survive that august ceremony, which might be considered
 as his own work. He had governed his order scarce two
 years, when death carried him off; but after contributing so
 successfully to the peace of church and state, he had lived
 long enough to die with glory.

The hospitallers chose in his stead brother Arnaud
 de Comps, a knight of an illustrious family in the province
 of Dauphine, ARNAUD DE who was not at all younger than
 his COMPS. predecessor. Scarce had this new
 grand master taken possession of his dignity, when he
 was obliged to advance to the frontiers, at the head of
 the hospitallers. The business was to oppose some fresh
 incursions of the Sarazens. We have observed, that after
 king Baldwin III. had taken Ascalon, the caliph called
 Elfeis, to save himself from the continual inroads that
 the garrisons of that place and Gaza made upon his
 frontiers, had submitted to pay the kings of Jerusalem
 certain sums by way of contribution. But the caliph
 Adhed, successor to Elfeis, or rather Schaours or San-
 nar, who, by the title of sultan, governed the state
 with

with an absolute authority, refused openly to pay that sort of tribute any longer; and to break a treaty scandalous to his nation in the most publick manner, he put himself at the head of a great body of troops, and ravaged in his turn the frontiers of Judea.

Amaury *, burning with impatience to revenge this infraction of the treaty, assembles his forces, summons the nobility, gentry, and two military orders, and advances with great expedition to repulse the enemy. Both sides were preparing for a bloody war, when there arose disturbances and civil wars in Egypt, that obliged the sultan to abandon the frontier, and lead his troops back into the kingdom. But the king of Jerusalem could make no advantage of this precipitate retreat.

To understand this point of history, it is necessary to call to mind what was said in the first book of this work; that after the death of Mahomet there rose up in that sect, and even in the false prophet's family, several princes, chiefs of different dynasties, who, by the name of caliphs, pretended to be heirs to Mahomet's dominions, and the true interpreters of his law: and under this pretext, and to keep their subjects in obedience, they had published different commentaries and explanations of the alcoran, in many points contrary and opposite to one another. Abulabbas, surnamed Saffa, one of Mahomet's grandsons, or at least descended of the same family, having been proclaimed caliph, was the founder of the dynasty of the Abbassides, which settled at Bagdat. There were thirty-seven caliphs of this family, who succeeded one another without interruption, and were acknowledged by all the Mahometans of Asia, and particularly by the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race, for the rightful successors of Mahomet.

* Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 5.

About A. D. 908 †, the dynasty of the Fathimites, *i. e.* of the princes who pretended to descend in a direct line from Hegir. 296. Aly, and Fatima, Mahomet's daughter, began in Africa; and sixty four years after, the caliph Moez le Dinillah entered Egypt, subdued it, caused the doctrine of Aly to be received for the only orthodox doctrine, and forbade the observance of that of Omar, and the Abassidian caliphs that resided at Bagdat, against whom this prince and his successors, till the time of Aided that we are speaking of, kept up a continual schism.

This variety of sentiments in the explanation of the Alcoran, these disputes and schisms, and especially their genealogies, which were most of them fabulous, were invented by these princes only to impose upon the people, and justify their usurpations; but such as were well settled in their governments laughed at them. Thus one Thabetheba having asked the caliph Moez, what branch of the house of Aly he was descended from? the prince, who was then at the head of a mighty army, drew his sabre out of the scabbard, and brandishing it before his eyes, "See here, (says he), my father, my mother; and my ancestors; and throwing handfuls of gold to his soldiers, see there, adds he, my children and all my posterity."

But the descendants of Moez, grown effeminate by luxury and pleasures, abandoned insensibly the government of the kingdom and the command of the armies to a first minister, who, under the title of sultan, like our old maires of the palace, governed with an absolute power. These ministers, who at first had the sovereign authority only in trust, soon made themselves independent; they kept the caliphs confined in the middle of a palace, amidst a troop of women and eunuchs, and fettered as it

† Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 20.

were in pleasures. They left them only some appearances of sovereignty; the money still bore their stamp; they were named first in the publick prayers; the sultan too was obliged to receive the investiture, and ensigns of his dignity, from the hand of the caliph: but these prerogatives went no farther than mere ceremony. The caliphs durst not deny the commission of sultan to any of their subjects that proved the strongest. And these princes were so unhappy, that whilst they were necessitated to receive a master, they had not so much as the choice of their tyrants.

Sannar, or Savar, whom we have just mentioned, was then invested with the dignity and authority of sultan in Egypt. This minister, at the very time that he was preparing to attack the Christians, saw himself on a sudden stripped of his dignity by a powerful faction formed against him. A Saracen

his enemy, and ring-leader of the conspiracy, called d'Hargan, taking his post, and the command of the army, advanced out of hand against the king of Jerusalem; they came to an engagement; the Egyptians, half naked, and most of them without any arms but their bows and arrows, did not long resist the cavalry of Amaury; particularly the knights of St. John and the templars, who were armed cap-a-pee. These warriors, who formed squadrons truly formidable, soon broke the battalions of the infidels. The Egyptian army all disbanded after the first discharge; the king of Jerusalem remained master of the field, and took abundance of prisoners; his soldiers enriched themselves with the booty, and his majesty immediately marched forward with great expedition, and filled those large provinces with the terror of his arms, and the dread of his name.

D'Hargan, who had no troops to oppose him, had recourse to a remedy almost as dangerous as the evil he designed to avoid. To stop the torrent, and

gain time to send for troops from the higher Egypt, he broke down the banks of the Nile, and drowned the country. But when he thought himself secured against the Christians, he was surprised by a new enemy no less formidable than the king of Jerusalem.

Sannar, whom he had dispossessed of his dignity, had taken refuge at the court of Noradin, sultan of Aleppo; and to obtain the necessary succours for his restoration, he offered, in case he got the better of his competitor, to make himself his vassal, and to give him every year the third part of the revenue of Egypt. Noradin, as great a politician as he was a soldier, fancied these civil wars would afford him a proper opportunity and means to make himself master of that great kingdom; besides, that being devoted to the sect and interests of the Abassidian caliphs of Bagdat, he thought religion would be indebted to him if he could extinguish the schism by destroying the government of the Fathimites, whom the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race treated as hereticks. With this view he received Sannar very favourably, and after the treaty was signed, levied a great body of troops, which, though seemingly under the command of the Egyptian, were in fact governed by Schirgovich or Siracon, a Curde by nation, the first of Noradin's captains, and one whom he trusted with his most secret intentions.

D'Hargan having notice of this negotiation of his competitor, and of his preparing to enter Egypt at the head of Noradin's army, and not finding himself strong enough to make head at the same time against the Christians of Palestine and the Turcomans of Syria, sued for peace of Amaury. That prince would not grant it him, but upon condition of paying the tribute which had been the occasion of the war; besides which, he demanded a large sum of money for the charges of his armament.

The sultan agreed to every thing, thinking that, at so unhappy a juncture, he could not pay too dear for peace, or at least for time to get clear of the enemy that appeared to him the most formidable of the two. He marched afterwards against his rival. The Turcomans and Egyptians soon met: D'Hargan was defeated: he died in the battle, or after it, by the treason of one of his officers; and Sannar, the old sultan, was re-instated in his dignity: every thing submitted to his power; he rewarded his creatures, he put his enemies to death, and having no further need of Noradin's assistance, he forgot the condition on which he had obtained it, or perhaps imagined that he was freed from the performance of it by his victory. This was the ground of a new war. The Turcoman general receiving positive orders from his master to revenge the Egyptian's ingratitude, immediately turned his arms against him, and seized on Belbeis, formerly Pelusium, and Alexandria. Sannar applied to the king of Jerusalem, and to engage him in his interest, promised that prince a considerable sum, besides an augmentation of the tribute which his predecessor had submitted to. Upon receiving the money, the king signed the treaty, and sent one of his officers, called Hugh of Cæsarea, to get it ratified by the caliph.

1166. This knight being conducted to an audience of the caliph, presented him the treaty, which that prince ratified; but it was only for form sake. Hugh required, that according to the example of the king his master, he should take him by the hand. The caliph, who had nothing left of all the rights of sovereignty but the ceremonial, affected a great scruple with regard to the taking a Christian by the naked hand, and therefore covered his own. But the Christian knight resenting a precaution which bordered upon contempt; "Sir," (says he briskly to him) "our treaty ought to be sincere on both sides, and executed with the same ceremonies."

“ceremonies. The king my master when he ratified it, gave his bare hand to your ambassadors, and I shall not accept your ratification, unless it be made with the same formalities.” The caliph was obliged to uncover his hand, and give it to the ambassador. Amaury, pursuant to this treaty, marched to the sultan’s assistance, joined him near Siracon, and pursued him to Belbeis, whither he had retired after his defeat, and forced him, after some days siege, to surrender the place to him.

This prince the year following besieged and took Alexandria. Young Salahebdin, Siracon’s nephew, was in the city, with the greatest part of Noradin’s army. He was a young soldier of fortune, who had at first nothing to recommend him but the interest and power of his uncle ; but he soon gained the esteem of the soldiery by his courage and liberality. He is said to have been very loose in his morals, but the desire of raising himself, and the love of glory, soon got the better of that of pleasure, and in a short time he became a great commander. This young governor defended himself a long time, and with great valour. He made frequent sallies : every day afforded some new action ; and after a siege of three months, Amaury was scarce farther advanced than the first day. But the person, whom he could not subdue by force of arms, was vanquished at last by scarcity and famine ; and Saladin, for want of supply and ammunition, was reduced to the unhappy necessity of opening its gates to the enemy. This young Mahometan, as he was marching out of Alexandria at the head of his garrison, seeing Humfrey de Thoron, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and charmed with the bravery he had shewn during the whole siege, is reported to have addressed himself to that Christian lord, * and to have desired him, as the gallant-

* See chron. Will. de Nangis.

est knight he knew, to do him the honour of knighting him with his own hand ; which the constable, by the king's permission, consented to, and performed with all the marks of esteem and consideration due to his valour, and the noble defence he had made during the siege.

Sannar, at last master of Egypt, and rid of the Syrians, had nothing to do but to send the king of Jerusalem back into his own dominions ; and that he might not draw upon himself his arms and resentment, as he had done those of Siracon, he made the christian monarch abundance of magnificent presents. His principal officers too received from him gifts of various sorts : provisions by his order were brought from all quarters to the army ; and

1167. Amaury returned to his dominions loaded with glory ; but he sullied it afterwards by an enterprize, in which the hospitallers unhappily had but too great a share.

That prince, born with great views, but of a fiery and restless ambition, was, after his return from Egypt, continually reflecting upon the greatness of that kingdom, the number and riches of its inhabitants, its fleets and the convenience of its ports ; and he was thoroughly persuaded, that it would be very difficult for the Latins to preserve the holy places, if ever there should be a warlike caliph or sultan at the head of a kingdom so powerful and so near to Palestine, and that sooner or later the Holy Land would again become a province of Egypt, as it had been before the conquest of Godfrey of Bouillon. Full of these reflections, and possessed with a notion of the little courage he had seen in that nation, he concluded, that he could not establish his own government and that of his successors, better than by making himself master of that potent kingdom : and as a thirst after riches was always his domineering passion, he had already in his own mind seized the caliph and sultan's

tan's treasures; and he flattered himself, that though he should not be able to make an entire conquest of that state, yet he should at least carry off part of its riches, by plundering the towns, and raising contributions as far as the most distant provinces.

But as his forces, with regard to so great an enterprise, were in no respect answerable to his ambitious views; as he wanted troops and money to raise them, and was even destitute of a fleet to block up the ports of Egypt; he addressed himself to Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, proposed a league, and invited him to join in the conquest, and divide the kingdom between them. William of Tyre *, author of the history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, was charged with this negotiation. He was born in the country, but his ancestors are said to have been natives of France. He was archdeacon of Tyre, and Amaury afterwards made him preceptor to young Baldwin his son. From this employ he rose to the dignity of chancellor, and about A. D. 1174, was chosen archbishop of Tyre. He was only archdeacon of that church when he was sent ambassador to Constantinople. The Greek emperor seemed no way averse to the proposal made him by the ambassador, and after some conferences a treaty was signed. It was in pursuance of this treaty, that Contostephanus put to sea with the troops stipulated for.

Amaury, assured of a fleet, thought only of increasing his army by land: he communicated his design to the grand master of the hospitallers, who, by his character, and complaisance had a great share in the confidence of that prince. The grand master's name was Gilbert GILBERT d'Assalit, or De Saily; he had lately d'ASSALIT. succeeded to Arnaud de Comps. The

* Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 4.

king represented to him, that having barbarians for their neighbours, a people inured to robberies, and whose faith was never to be depended on, nothing but pure force, and such a superiority as might be acquired by conquests, could serve for a barrier against their inroads, and secure the frontiers of the kingdom from their enterprizes: that therefore he was resolved to invade Egypt, and make himself master of some considerable place there, which might hinder them from ever penetrating into Palestine. The grand master, either out of complaisance, or pushed on by his courage, entered warmly into all the king's designs. He was in truth a man of great valour, bold and enterprising, but of an extravagant genius, and very capable of being imposed on by hopes that often had no foundation. He applauded the king for the boldness of a project, which, he said, was suitable to the greatness of his courage; and expressed his great sense of the honour the prince did him, in allowing him to act a part in it. But though the grand master was at the head of a strong body of warriors, his authority was under the restraint of a council, which, in all their undertakings, were determined by the fixed plan of their rule and statutes; and whatever impatience the grand master had to enter upon action, he began to fear the hospitallers would scruple engaging in an expedition which had no direct tendency to the defence of the holy places, and the security of pilgrims and the Christian world.

The king and the grand master had several conferences upon this subject. The grand master represented to the king, that to engage the whole order in an enterprize of such considerable expence, he must interest the council in it by the hopes of a solid recompence, and such as would make ample amends for all the sums they should advance; and accordingly they agreed, that if the Christian army could

could take the city of Belbeis, formerly called Pelusium, the king should grant it in property to the order. The grand master communicated this proposal to the council of the order; he laid before them the importance of the place, and all the advantage the order might draw from such a conquest, especially in case the Turcomans, who every day became more and more formidable, should make themselves masters of Palestine: for then, he said, the order might transfer its residence to that place, from whence it would not be difficult, in some more favourable juncture, to enter again into the Holy Land, and drive the barbarians out in their turn.

The senior hospitallers, men who to a nicety of honour joined a scrupulous observance of their rule, urged that they were a religious order, and that the church had not put arms into their hands to make conquests; that they had no right to use them at all, but for the defence of the Holy Land: besides, that they could not invade a nation, though an infidel one, which relied upon the faith of a treaty of peace just signed before.

But others, some of them friends to the grand master, and some gained over by the king himself, declared for war. They maintained, that what treaties soever had been made formerly, either with the Turcomans or Sarazens, those infidels had always broken them, when they had any prospect of being able to surprize the Christians; that they had not observed the last treaty more faithfully than the former, and that positive advice had been brought, that their garrisons were continually making inroads upon the frontier, and particularly that one of their parties had lately carried off some peasants of the country who trusted to the faith of the last treaty. Whether this complaint was really true, or only a pretence, it was carried by a plurality of voices in the council for war, and resolved, that

that in case the king made an attempt to conquer Egypt, the grand master should follow him in that expedition, at the head of all the troops he could levy: And to raise the necessary supplies for this armament, they gave him a full power to borrow money of the banks of Florence and Genoa.

Nicetas, in the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, says, that his imperial majesty, to contribute his share towards it, made considerable remittances to the grand master by Theodorus Maurozumus; and it was probably to get a sum of money from the king of France that he likewise wrote to that prince.

Affait, with this money, levied a great body of troops which he listed into the pay of the order; and as his fancy was entirely taken up with flattering hopes of conquests, by his indiscreet liberalities, he drew a great number of volunteers into his service, who, like him, shared already in imagination all the riches of Egypt. The king was mightily pleased with the zeal he shewed for the 1168. success of his enterprize. That prince flattered himself with the thoughts of having a succour every way as considerable from the templars; but they flatly refused being concerned in the affair, either because they would not appear in the field with forces inferior to those of the hospitallers; or, as they gave out themselves, because they looked upon the war as unjust, it being begun without any previous declaration by an herald: A sure maxim indeed, but little minded by princes, who have more regard to their own interest, than to the sacredness of an oath *.

* *Fratres autem militiæ templi eidem se subducentes facto, aut quia eis contra conscientiam suam videbatur, aut quia magister æmulæ domus, hujus rei auctor et princeps videbatur, vires penitus ministrare, aut regem sequi negaverunt; datum enim videbatur eis, amico regno et de nostro fide præsumenti, contra tenorem pactorum, et contra juris religionem, immeritis et fidem servantibus bellum indicere.* Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 5.

Amaury, attended by the grand master, took the field at the head of his army, the most numerous that for a long time had marched out of Palestine. That prince, in less than ten days time, passed the desert that divides Palestine from Egypt, and invested Belbeis, summoning the inhabitants to open their gates to him. This town was seated on the banks of the Nile, on the right side of the river towards Palestine. Mahazan, son to the sultan Sannar, and one of his nephews, who commanded then in the place, sent him word, that they were strangely surprized to see a prince appear under their walls as an enemy; from whom the caliph and sultan had lately received succours of the greatest service to them, and with whom Egypt had but just before made a solemn treaty of peace. Amaury was for laying the cause of his taking arms on some incursions of the Sarazens; but they were disavowed. Mahazin too maintained, that they could not prove that ever any soldier of his father's had, since the last treaty, set foot in the Christian territories; but as force supplies the place of reason with most sovereigns, Amaury thought himself too powerful to give ear to the reasons of the infidels; and upon their refusal, it was visible nothing but arms could decide the fate of the besieged.

The town was fortified by all the methods which art had at that time invented, but more so by the number of its inhabitants, who had all taken arms for the defence of their country, and, what is still more, against the enemies of their religion. Amaury, fearing the length and uncertainty of a siege, resolved first to try a scalado: He was two days preparing ladders and machines necessary for his enterprize. Scarce had the dawn of the third day appeared, when the town was surrounded by the whole army in battalia; the inhabitants on their side lined the walls, armed with arrows, darts, stones and artificial fireworks. No sooner were the

the ladders brought near the walls, but a body of Amaury's troops, led by valiant officers, ran to the assault. Never was there the like eagerness seen in action ; some endeavoured, by the help of ladders, to climb up to the top of the wall, while others fapped it at the bottom, and some in places where it was lowest, got upon the shoulders of their comrades, and made of their bodies a sort of stairs to get up to the ramparts : The besieged drove them back with their pikes, with rolling great stones upon them from the top of the wall, with darting their javlins, or throwing artificial fires ; and there perished in the beginning of this attack a great number of christian officers and soldiers, before it could be seen on which side the victory would turn.

Amaury, to sustain this first body, caused some fresh troops to advance, who bravely mount thro' the thickest of the fires, javelins, and stones, get up to the top of the walls, catch hold of the battlements, and, in spite of all opposition from the besieged, leap upon the ramparts, push all before them, and make their way into the town sword in hand. This done, they set open the gates, the Christians crowd in ; the soldiers, in the first transports of their fury, put all before them to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. There were some of these furies that spared neither old men, nor women, nor children at the breast ; it looked as if the Christians were afraid of being less inhuman than the Saracens and Arabians. But the officers, as well as the soldiers, perceiving that their cruelty was prejudicial to their avarice, gave quarter to the principal inhabitants, in hopes of drawing money from them for their ransom ; and such as could not pay it were treated as slaves and prisoners of war.

The king of Jerusalem being master of the place,
delivered

delivered up the possession of it, according to his agreement, to the grand master; and 1168. the whole army, after some days rest, marched towards Grand Cairo, a considerable city, seated near old Babylon, and upon the destruction of that place made the capital of Egypt. There is no describing the surprise and consternation of the sultan, when he received the advice of the loss of Belbeis, and the taking of his son and nephew, and that he himself was going to have all the christian forces upon his heels. As he could not much depend upon the raw troops of the Egyptians, in spite of his breach of faith to Noradin, he saw himself reduced to the necessity of having recourse to that prince; and the imminent danger he was in made him insensible of shame in imploring the assistance of an ally whom he had deceived: at the same time he sends for several regiments from the most remote provinces; and to gain time for both to advance to his succour, he dispatched ambassadors to the king of Jerusalem, to endeavour by a negotiation to retard the progress of his arms.

The ambassadors arriving at the royal camp, complained of the infraction of the treaty of peace; but as the injustice was but too visible, they did not insist much on a grievance which would only serve to incense Amaury whom they had a mind to pacify; but to prevail with him to withdraw his forces out of Egypt, they made him such dazzling proposals, that his majesty, with whom peace and war were equally venal, had not the power to resist them. They offered him two millions of gold for a peace, and for the ransom of the sultan's son and nephew; an immense sum in those days, and such as could hardly be raised in all Egypt. Amaury, more affected with these offers of ready money than with the uncertain hopes of conquering the kingdom, accepted the conditions. The treaty 1169. was signed; in consequence of which,

and for setting the sultan's son and nephew at liberty, they paid him an hundred thousand pieces of gold in part of the two millions, demanding some time to raise the rest ; and insisting upon a cessation of arms between the two nations during the time that they were collecting the money in the provinces ; as also, that the Christians, to avoid alarming the country, should stay in the place where they were, or at least advance on but slowly. The king of Jerusalem, always beset by his wretched passion, without considering that moments in war are more precious than gold and silver, complied with every thing ; and the sultan, to amuse him, sent him refreshments continually. He took care, at the same time, to dispatch express after express to the prince, to excuse, under various pretences, the delay of paying the money agreed on. In vain did Amaury's chief officers labour to make him suspect this delay. That prince, blinded by the hopes of receiving so vast a sum, carefully avoided giving the Saracens the least pretence in nature to break the treaty : but it was not long before he saw that he was imposed upon : he heard, with equal surprize and concern, that several bodies of troops were advancing out of the provinces, and that a formidable army of the Syrian Turcomans were on their march to succour the Egyptians, and were taking their measures to join them.

Noradin, who resolved not to be the Egyptians bubble a second time, had poured in his best troops on that side, and put his general in a condition to force Sannar to keep his word. Notwithstanding the several motions that Amaury made, Siracon, who commanded Noradin's army, and knew the country well, avoided meeting him. Amaury had advanced to fight him separately ; but that infidel general joined the troops of the sultan. To complete the misfortune, the fleet which the emperor of Constantinople had sent to the assistance of the

Christians,

Christians, was part of it lost, and the rest dispersed by a storm. Amaury deprived of this succour, and finding his army considerably weakened by sickness, desertion, and other accidents usual in war, saw himself no longer in a condition of making head against the united forces of the infidels; so that all his business was to get back into Palestine; and as there was no prospect of leaving the garrison of Belbeis in an enemy's country, without any hopes of succour, against so formidable a power, the great master found himself obliged to recall the hospital-ers that he had put into the place.

Amaury took them up in his way; and though he was pursued smartly by some detachments of Siracon's army, he made a shift to get back into Palestine. At last, after a tedious march, he arrived at Jerusalem, full of confusion for having broken a solemn treaty to no purpose, and been engaged in an unjust and ill concerted enterprize.

The grand master was yet more uneasy at this ill success. The courtiers, according to custom, in order to justify the young prince, threw all the blame of this unfortunate expedition upon him. His brother companions of the order were no less exasperated against him; and they made loud complaints, that he had run the order in debt above 200,000 ducats, an immense sum in those days, merely to gratify his vanity, and be attended by a great number of volunteers. In short, not able any longer to bear the contempt of some, and the reproaches of others, he resolved to leave Palestine. He made a resignation of his dignity in a full chapter, and they chose in his stead an old knight, called brother Gastus or Gastus, GASTUS.
of whose country we have no account. 1169.

Were it not for the distance of time, one might perhaps take him for the same Gastus, who, during the first crusade, entered with the count of Flanders, at the head of five hundred
Vol. I. M men,

men, into the town of Rama; but in all probability this great master was only some relation of that gentleman's.

Gilbert d'Assalit, upon his abdication, quitted Jerusalem and Palestine, resolving to go into some corner of Europe, there to bury his grief and shame. He embarked at Jassa, and landed on the coast of Provence: he passed through France, to go into Normandy to Henry II. duke of that great province and king of England. He waited upon that prince at Rouen, and notwithstanding his misfortune, was well received by him, as Roger Hoveden, a cotemporary historian, relates. From thence he took shipping at Dieppe for England, which makes it probable that he was a native of that country; the ship, as the historian says, was old and not fit to bear the sea. Assalit, impatient to be in England, caused only some slight repairs to be made, and went on board it; but he was hardly got out of the port when the vessel foundered. The great master perished on this occasion, with all the passengers, except eight persons, who seized in good time on the boat.

Sannar, though victorious, was not so easily rid of Siracon Noradin's general, as of the Christians his declared enemies: an ally so powerful gave him great uneasiness. These two generals watched one another narrowly, and had each of them their private designs. The Egyptian, after congratulating Siracon on his victory, sent him magnificent presents; and representing to him the scarcity of provisions, pressed him to return home. But Siracon, on various pretences, deferred his departure from day to day; in fine, having wheedled Sannar into his camp, he had him assassinated, and entering into Cairo at the head of his troops, made himself master of the kingdom, and was declared sultan by the caliph himself, who was but a mere phantom of

a sovereign, and whose fate depended always on the strongest of his subjects.

Noradin's general did not long enjoy the fruits of his villany; he fell sick and died at the end of two months, and left the command of Noradin's troops to his nephew Salahebdin, or Saladine, before mentioned, whom the caliph of Egypt, because he could not avoid it, declared first emir or sultan of the whole kingdom.

Saladine dispatched immediately an officer, one of his friends, to Damascus, to give Noradin his master advice of the death of Siracon his uncle, and to receive his orders. Some of Noradin's ministers, mistrusting the ambitious temper of the young general, advised that prince not to confirm the authority of Saladine, who was not born his subject, but to send him immediately a successor. But Noradin, being apprehensive that the taking away his command would put him upon thoughts of revoking, and having a design to go in person into Egypt, when all was quiet in that kingdom, confirmed Saladine in his post, only ordering him to cause the name of Adhad as caliph to be left out of the publick prayers, and that of Mostadhi, the thirty-third caliph of the race of the Abbassides, who resided at Bagdat, to be substituted in his stead. He commanded him at the same time to turn out the priests and cadis or magistrates that professed themselves of the sect of Aly, of which Adhad, as caliph, was the head and sovereign pontiff. That caliph survived this great change but a short time. It is said that his death was not natural, and that Noradin, zealous and a bigot to his religion, in order to extinguish the schism in the blood of that unfortunate prince, sent private orders to Saladine to make him away. But whether any such orders came from Damascus, or Adhad's life gave continual uneasiness to the ambitious Saladine, it is

certain that he caused him to be strangled in the bath.

He was the last of the Fatamite caliphs, who became extinct in Egypt in the year of our Lord 1171, and of the Hegira 550; and all the authority in the government, both spiritual and civil, devolved upon Saladine, who, to make himself the more respected, received the investiture of it from the Abbasidian caliph residing at Bagdat,

Salahedden-Josef-ben Ajoub-ben Schadi was a soldier of fortune, a Curde by nation, who engaged with his uncle Siracon in the service of Nouredin Zenghi, prince of Aleppo and Damascus, whom we have been speaking of by the name of Noradin. The caliph Adhad was no sooner dead, than Saladine seized his treasures, with which we may say he purchased the empire, by distributing them into his army. He gave every thing away. Never did any commander gain the affection of his soldiers by such prodigious liberalities. He was severe in punishing, generous in rewarding, good natured, humane, perfectly equitable with regard to his subjects, and at the same time, by the principles of his religion, a bloody enemy to the hospitallers and templars; he was moreover a soldier, a general, and a great commander, and by his conquests founded a vast empire, the history whereof is written by the famous Abbe Renaudor, the most learned man of his age in the oriental languages.

Young Saladine, being as able a politician as he was a great commander, paid, as long as Noradin lived, an entire deference to his orders; he observed too for some time after his death the same conduct with regard to Almalech-al Salchismael Noradin's son, whose name he caused to be mentioned in the mosques and publick prayers after that of the caliph, as was the custom with regard to sovereigns. He afterwards married that prince's mother; but when he had established his authority

upon

upon a substantial footing, he took off the mask, made war upon the son of his master, and took Aleppo from him. Damascus, the better part of Syria, Persia, and Mesopotamia fell under the power of his arms *.

There was nothing to seperate these vast provinces whereof this new empire was composed, and to hinder their communication with each other, but only Judea or Palestine; for which reason he bent his arms to conquer this little state: There were every day new enterprizes and incursions made by the infidels. The Christians knew not which way to turn themselves, nor what part to succour first. Saladine with an army of 40,000 men attacked the castle of Daron, situated in Idumea, four miles from Gaza: but meeting with two brave a resistance, he drew off and invested Gaza itself, which is the key of the kingdom of Palestine, on that side next Egypt and the sea. He thought to find that place, which was entrusted to the guard of the templars, destitute of a garrison, from a notion that those knights were drawn out to reinforce the army: but he was convinced upon the first approach, and by the first sally that was made, that all the templars were not at the army. He raised the siege immediately, and by way of revenge for his ill success, his troops put all to fire and sword in the country, whilst his lieutenants, on the other hand, ravaged at the same time the principality of Antioch and Phœnicia.

The hospitallers and templars were continually on horseback; and though these noble warriors made head with invincible courage against all the

* Salahabdinus occupator Ægypti uxorem Noradini sibi matrimonio copulans, cum ipsa regni regimen, fugatis hæredibus, occupavit; deinde terra Roasiz et Gëfiz occupata, circumjacentia regna usque ad intima citerioris Indiæ, nunc dolis, nunc armis expugnans, de sceptris pluribus monarchiam efficit, Babyloniz et Damasci sibi vendicans principatum: hæc fortunæ ludentis potentia, Chron. 9. de Nangis, ad ann. 1174.

efforts of the enemy, the king began to be sensible of the fault he had committed, in occasioning the sultan to call in an enemy equally powerful and ambitious to his succour ; and he saw plainly, that there was no resisting him without a new crusade, and an army of the princes of the west. He employed William Bishop of Acre in this negotiation, appointing him chief of the ambassade : but as this succour was remote, and even uncertain, he resolved to apply himself to the emperor of Constantinople, and went in person to that capital, to obtain of Manuel, whose niece he had married, some troops, or at least money necessary to make new levies.

That prince, before he embarked, left the government of his territories to the two grand masters : the hospitaller was
 JOUBERT. 1169. called brother Joubert, a person, who by his wise conduct in the affairs of the principality of Antioch, well deserved to be promoted to that supreme dignity. He succeeded Gastus. The choice the king had made, so much to the honour of the two military orders, was a new motive to redouble their application and zeal. The two grand masters were obliged, in a manner, to make head on all sides ; and to embarrass them the more, besides the formidable enemy they had in Saladine, there rose up another of the house of Armenia, sprung out of the very bosom of the templars, who putting himself under the protection of the infidels, adopted at the same time all their hatred against the Latin Christians.

The lesser Armenia, a province bordering upon Syria, had its own princes, that were Christians by religion, but most of them schismatics, as well as their subjects, and that from the Greek church as well as the Latin. *

* Bosph. l. 8. p. 277.

They mix no water with the wine in the holy sacrifice, as the Greeks and Latins do, though they use leavened bread agreeably to the practice of the Greeks.* They make but one holy day of Christmas and the epiphany; 'tis said too, that they chuse butter instead of balm in making the holy chrism. They allow but one nature in Jesus Christ, and add these words, "Who was crucified for us" to the trisagion, an addition introduced by Peter Foulon, an intruder into the patriarchal see of Antioch, but rejected by the Catholick church. These schismaticks have a patriarch, whom they stile by way of eminence the Catholick, and who resides at Cis, the capital of the lesser Armenia. The princes of this little state depended originally on the emperors of Constantinople; but in the frequent revolutions of that empire, they never acknowledged its authority, but when they were forced to it; and by the help of some castles, seated on inaccessible mountains, they maintained their ground as well against the incursions of the Turcomans as the enterprizes of the Greeks.

Thodos or Theodore was then reigning in that country. This prince, though a schismatick, had yet, to support himself against the Greeks, made a particular alliance with the Latins of the east. He allowed the hospitallers and templars to have churches in his territories, and Melier of Milon, his brother, had even renounced the schism, and made himself a templar. Prince Theodore, to engage the Latins more closely in his interests, had married one of his sisters to a Latin nobleman; and there being issued of that marriage a young prince, named Thomas, he had afterwards declared him to be his heir and successor.

Upon the death of that prince, Thomas his nephew was for taking possession of his territories.

* Epist. Greg. Papæ sept.

* But as he was no abettor of the schism, 1171. the Armenians shewed a great deal of dislike to his government, and Melier the templar, taking advantage of this aversion of the people, quitted his order, took up arms in concert with Saladine, obtained a considerable succour of troops from him, drove his nephew out of Armenia, and made himself master of it. He afterwards invaded the principality of Antioch, and advanced even to the frontiers of the kingdom of Jerusalem. His troops, by his orders, destroyed all before them with fire and sword, and left dismal marks of their fury in all places where ever they passed †. It is impossible to describe all the barbarities which that apostate templar exercised upon the Latin Christians, and especially upon the knights hospitallers and templars his brethren. Such as fell into his hands, he caused to be murdered in cold blood, or else delivered them up to the infidels, as pledges and proofs of his fidelity, by which means these soldiers of Jesus Christ were put to death with the most dreadful torments.

The grand master Joubert would gladly have gone in person to repress the inroads of the renegade, and take ample vengeance of him for so many cruelties. But as he had still the care of the regency upon his hands, and could not leave the frontiers of Egypt, without abandoning them for a prey to the incursions of Saladine's troops, he ordered a knight of his order, who was also a great preceptor or great commander in it, and had the guard of the frontiers on the side of Syria, to draw together the hospitallers and soldiers under his command, and to advance against the apostate Melier, and give him battle.

Bohemund III. of that name, reigned at this time in the principality of Antioch. He was the

* Will. Tyr. l. 20. 28.

† Idem ibid.

son of Raimond, brother to William the last count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, which Raimond, as we have observed, had by means of the hospitaller Joubert, married the princess Constance, heiress of the principality of Antioch, and only daughter of Bohemund II. and the issue of this marriage was Bohemund III. This young prince and the templars joined with the hospitallers against the renegado Melier : and Amaury, king of Jerusalem, at his return from Constantinople, where he had received more honours and fine promises than effectual supplies, prepared to march at the head of his troops to take on him the command of the army : but advice came, that Melier, not thinking himself strong enough to keep the field, had retired to the defiles of the mountains, and intrenched himself in places where it was not easy to force him.

The Turcomans on their side, to make a diversion in favour of the Armenian, had invested Arach or Krach, a place in the frontier 1172. of Arabia Petræa *. Upon the first news they had of the siege of Jerusalem, Thoron, constable of the kingdom, drew out the hospitallers and templars that were left in Jerusalem, and advanced with great expedition to relieve it. At the approach of the christian army, the infidels raised the siege, and retired into their own country.

As faults are personal, and there was a villain and traitor even in the college of the apostles, Melier's apostacy did no injury to the reputation of the templars ; but a barbarous action, committed not long after by a brother of that order upon an envoy of the prince of the assassins, and connived at by the grand master, began to lessen and sink the esteem and affection which till then was paid to the whole order in general.

* Wil. Tyr. l. 29. 28.

There had been settled for several ages in the mountains of Phœnicia, between Tortosa or Antarradus, as it was then called, and the town of Tripoli, a sort of banditti, who seemed to be Mahometans, but in reality had scarce borrowed anything from that sect but their hatred of the christian name. They were barbarians, without any law, faith, or even religion, but blindly devoted to the will of their chief, by whose orders the most shocking villanies were consecrated into heroick virtues. They chose this commander by a majority of votes. He took on him no title but that of *OLD*, or *Senior*, a term from whence in those times was derived that of *Seignior*, which, in bastard Latin, signifies the same thing; and he was called the *Seignior of the mountain*, on account of the mountainous country which these banditti inhabited.

But under a style and title so modest in appearance, this chief of the assassins enjoyed an authority more absolute than that of the greatest kings, and his power was the more firm and substantial, in that it was founded on a principle of religion; and because this brutish and ignorant people were bred up in the belief, that if they died in executing the orders of their chief, they should go immediately to a delicious paradise, and be placed in the first seats there *. The seignior of the mountain made use of these wretches to dispatch his particular enemies. They went to stab even princes and sovereigns in their very palaces, and in the midst of their guards. It was a sort of school or academy of assassins, and these barbarians were not deterred by fear of the most dreadful torments from executing their bloody commissions.

To avoid suspicion, they generally carried no

* Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 19. l. 20. c. 21. Matt. Paris A. D. 1150. Will. Neubri. l. 4. c. 24. id. l. 5. c. 16. Jac de Vitri l. 1. c. 13. et 14. id. l. 3. p. 1126. See Du Cang's observations on the hist. of St. Louis, p. 87. edit. 1668, &c.

arms but a poinard, called in the Persian tongue Haffin; this name was given them upon that occasion, and from thence we have formed the word Affassin. This little state consisted only in some castles, built on the ridge of the mountains, or upon inaccessible rocks; but there were in the bottoms between these mountains, and in the vales, a great number of villages, peopled with above sixty thousand inhabitants, all of a cruel and savage disposition, murderers by principle, and so resolutely desperate, that most of the neighbouring princes, though far exceeding them in power, yet durst not make war upon them. It is related of a sultan of Damascus, that having sent an envoy to a seignior of the mountain, named Hacen, to threaten him with the ruin of his little territory, if he would not pay him tribute, this chief of the assassins, without making any reply, ordered, in the envoy's presence, one of his subjects to throw himself headlong from the top of a tower, and another to stab himself to the heart; they did so on the spot. Hacen thereupon turning towards the ambassador, who was not a little frightened at so odd a spectacle, Tell your master, says he, that I have sixty thousand men as much devoted to my orders as these two; and from that time the seignior of the mountain never heard more of the sultan's pretensions. Other historians say, that it was a count of Compagne, who going from Tyre to Antioch, with a pass from the seignior of the mountain, and travelling through his little state, was witness of this horrid sight. But be that as it will, most of the christian and mahometan sovereigns thought fit, for their own security against the fury of these assassins, to send great presents to their chiefs.

The templars, who were in possession of the places adjoining to this little state, were the only persons who durst venture to make war upon these assassins, and attempt to rid the earth of such monsters,

sters. But as these barbarians, who had it in their power to revenge themselves on the grand master, were sensible that the order, being governed in the manner of a commonwealth, was not to be extinguished by the death of their chief, whose place would immediately be filled with a successor, every whit as eager to make war upon them, they submitted at last to purchase a peace with the tribute of two thousand crowns of gold yearly, payable to the order.

The seignior who commanded at that time in these mountains, either out of a religious motive, or to be eased of this tribute, sent an ambassador to the king of Jerusalem, to assure him that he was ready to be baptized with all his subjects, if the templars would discharge them of the tribute. Amaury was highly pleased with the proposal, promised that the tribute should be remitted, for which he engaged to make the templars amends, loaded the envoy with presents, and at his return sent him away, says William of Tyre, attended by one of his guards, who had orders to conduct him to the frontiers of the state. They were already past Tripoli, and ready to enter into the streights of the mountains, when a templar, named Du Mesnil, hurried on by the animosity that had so long reigned between the Christians and the assassins, without any regard either to the public faith, or the officer the king had sent to protect him, ran his sword through the envoy's body, and killed him on the spot.

It is impossible to express the king's wrath and indignation, when he heard of this intolerable violation of the law of nations, especially since it affected the chief of a banditti, who would not want assassins to make reprisals. He sent immediately to Odo de St. Amand, then grand master of the order, to demand the criminal of him ; but Odo refused him, under pretence that his knights were not subject to the jurisdiction of the king's officers:

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it was not that he demurred upon the crime the templar had committed, for he himself had caused him to be arrested, and had put him in irons; but as the question related to the judges before whom the crime was properly cognisable, and he pretended that the templars held only under the pope, he declared that he would send the criminal to Rome in irons, and till judgement was given in his case, he forbade all persons whatsoever to meddle with him, under pain of excommunication, agreeably to the privileges of the order.

The king, without troubling himself about these declarations, caused the criminal to be carried off, and confined him in his own prison at Tyre; and that prince, to satisfy his own justice, and the resentment of the seignior of the mountain, would have made an exemplary punishment of him, if his death, which happened at that juncture, had not saved the prisoner's life.

Amaury left three children by two marriages, two daughters and a son. The eldest of the daughters, named Sybille, was at that time widow of William Longuespee, marquis of Montferrat. The younger, named Isabel, the offspring of his second marriage with Mary, a Greek princess and niece to the emperor Manuel, was married afterwards at eight years of age to Humfrey de Thoron, grandson to the constable of Jerusalem. The eldest of all these children, and Amaury's successor, was Baldwin IV. who was born of his first marriage with Agnes, daughter of Josceline de Courtenay, the second of the name, and prince of Edeffa.

Baldwin was born with great infirmities, and was dying in a manner all his reign. The regency of his dominions was committed to Raimond III. count of Tripoli, surnamed the young, his next relation, son to Raimond II. and Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, and widow of the famous Tancred, who signalized himself under

Godfrey de Bouillon. Raimond III. was descended by the male line from the first count of Toulouse, who acquired so much glory in the first crusade.

During Baldwin's minority, the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem lessened in proportion as the power of Saladine increased. This prince, after making himself master of the greatest part of Noradin's dominions, had lately, in concert with his widow whom he had married, taken Damascus. The count of Tripoli, alarmed at the power of so formidable a neighbour, drew down all the forces of the kingdom on that side, and taking advantage of Saladine's absence, who was returned into Egypt, besieged Harem, a castle in the neighbourhood and territory of Aleppo. The prince of Antioch and the count of Nevers, whom devotion had brought to the Holy Land *, were present at the siege, with different bodies of troops under their command; to whom were joined, as William of Tyre relates, the grand master of the hospitaliers, with his knights and many of the templars. The

1174. siege was long, and ended at last in a private treaty between the count of Tripoli and the Turks, by whom he was bribed to draw off his forces; and this infamous correspondence of a christian prince with the infidels, had afterwards consequences very fatal to the Latin Christians.

During this siege, Saladine fell into Palestine on the side of Egypt with a mighty army. King Baldwin being then of age, and in the favourable intervals which his infirmities allowed him, mounted on horseback to oppose that conqueror. He met him near Ascalon; they came to an engagement; and,

* *Assumptis ergo his, et domino comite Tripolitano, magistroque domus hospitalis, et multis ex fratribus militie templi, ad partes contendit Tripolitanas.* Will. Tyr. l. 2. c. 18.

though the forces of the two parties were very unequal, Saladine having at least twenty six thousand horse, and the christian army hardly amounting to four hundred horse and three thousand foot, yet this handful of troops falling on the enemy's camp in the night, put the infidels into a terrible consternation; most of them ran away, and Saladine himself, intrepid as he was, to make the greater haste, mounted a dromedary half naked, and fled into his own territories.

The year following, Baldwin, to put a stop to the incursions of the Arabians, attempted to fortify a castle upon Saladine's lands, beyond the river Jordan, in a place called Jacob's ford *. This was the occasion of a new battle that did not prove so fortunate to the Christians as the former. For Saladine having drawn them into an ambush, which he had laid in some hollow and rocky grounds, they were surprized and attacked on all sides †. The christian army not being able either to march forwards or make a retreat, disbanded at once; none but the hospitallers and templars stood their ground: the greatest part of them were cut in pieces: Joubert, grand master of the hospitallers, tho' wounded in several places, had yet strength enough left to swim over Jordan, and got safe to the castle of Beaufort; but Odo de St. Amand, grand master of the templars, being overborne by the number of the enemy, was taken prisoner by the infidels. ‡ Robert Dumont, a cotemporary historian, says, that Saladine offered him his liberty in exchange for one of his nephews, who was a prisoner of the order; but the noble grand master

* Eodem anno Christiani firmaverunt castellum fortissimum in terra Saladini ad vadum Jacobi ultra fluvium Jordanis; sed Saladinus illud per vim cepit, in cujus captione summus magister hospitalis captus fuit, et in terram Saladini ductus, fame periit. Rog. Hoveden, in Henr II. p. 555.

† Roger Hoveden, parte post. in Henr. II. p. 566.

‡ Robert de Monte appen. ad Sig. Gembl. p. 666.

answered him bravely †, that he would never, by his example, encourage any of his knights to be mean enough to surrender themselves prisoners, in hopes of being ransomed; that a templar ought either to vanquish or die ‡, and had nothing to give for his ransom but his girdle and his knife. We have no account how he escaped out of the hands of these barbarians; but it will appear in the course of this history that he came back to Jerusalem.

There is no describing the consternation that the Latin Christians were in after this defeat; the victorious enemy over-run the kingdom, putting every thing to fire and sword; the christian army was broke and dispersed; the king relapsed into his usual infirmity, which turned to a leprosy, and of the two grand masters, one was a prisoner in the enemy's hands, and the other disabled from action by reason of his wounds.

The kingdom being reduced to this extremity, and in no condition to carry on a war, they were under a necessity of having recourse to a negotiation, the only shift and resource of the weaker side. They applied to Saladine for a truce, which they purchased of him with their money, and which he would not have agreed to at any rate, if a famine had not at that time made a terrible havoc in his own provinces.

In the foregoing year pope Alexander III. had issued out a bull for calling a general council at Rome, which is the third of Lateran.

1179. He summoned thither the Latin prelates of the east, in order to concert measures with them for the defence of the Holy Land. There came on this occasion to Rome, the archbishops of Tyre and Cesaria, Albert bishop of Bethlehem, Raoul of

† Pistorius l. 1.

‡ Dicens non esse consuetudinis militum templi ut aliqua redemption daretur pro illis præter cingulum et cultellum. Id. ibid.

Sebaste, Joffe of Acre, and Romanus of Tripoli, with the prior of the holy sepulchre, deputed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and an abbot of mount Sion. These prelates represented, that the preservation of what the Christians had left in the Holy Land, depended intirely on the taking of Damietta, which would serve for a barrier to Palestine, and for an entrance into Egypt, in case it should be thought proper to make a greater progress there: which, by the way, shews, that the above-mentioned project of king Amaury III. and the grand master d'Affalit, must needs have been of vast advantage, if in the course of the war, the king of Jerusalem had not, out of a sordid passion, been more solicitous to heap up treasure, than to secure the Holy Land, by such important conquests from the incursions of the Egyptians.

As we don't mention the council of Lateran, but with regard to the interests of the Holy Land and the conduct of the hospitallers, we shall only take notice what passed there on that occasion. Some bishops of Palestine revived in this council the complaints which Foucher, patriarch of Jerusalem, had made formerly to pope Adrian IV. against the privileges of the hospitallers and templars. * " We find, says the holy council, by the warm complaints of the bishops, our colleagues, that the templars and hospitallers abuse the privileges, granted by the holy see; that whereas some parochial churches had formerly been usurped by laymen, their chaplains and the priests of their rule, have caused them to be conveyed over to themselves, without the ordinaries consent; that they administer the sacraments to excommuni-

* Fratrum autem et coepiscoporum nostrorum vehementi questione comperimus, quod fratres templi et hospitalis, alique professionis religionis, indulta sibi ab apostolica sede excedentes privilegia, contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa presumunt, &c. Cap. 9.

“ cated persons, and bury there with all the usual
 “ ceremonies of the church ; that they likewise a-
 “ buse the permission granted their brethren, o-
 “ having divine service said once in churches tha-
 “ are under an interdict, and that in these very
 “ places, they admit seculars into their fraternity
 “ pretending thereby to give them the same right
 “ to their privileges, as if they were indeed pro-
 “ fessed.” The council adds, that these abuses did
 not proceed so much from the superiors as from
 the indiscretion of some private persons. To pro-
 vide therefore a remedy against these irregularities,
 they forbid the military orders, and all other com-
 munities of regulars, to receive for the future any
 conveyances of churches and tythes, without the
 ordinary’s consent, and order them to resign im-
 mediately such as they had lately got possession of :
 that with regard to churches not founded by them-
 selves, nor served by the chaplains of the order,
 they should present the priests that they designed
 for the cure of them to the bishop of the diocese,
 and reserve nothing to themselves but the cogni-
 fance of the temporals, which belonged to them :
 that, agreeable to their privileges, they should not
 cause divine service to be said in churches under an
 interdict above once a year, nor give burial there
 to any person whatsoever ; and that none of their
 fraternity or associates should be allowed to partake
 of their privileges, if not actually professed. Such
 was the regulation made by the holy council, upon
 the bishops complaints, which in the main di-
 minished none of the rights and privileges of the
 military orders.

In the twenty third chapter of this council, they
 condemn the stiffness of some ecclesiasticks, who
 would not allow lepers to have churches to them-
 selves, though they were not admitted into the pub-
 lick congregations. The council orders, that in all
 places, where lepers live in community, they may
 have

have a church, a church-yard, and a priest to themselves: 'tis the first constitution that the church ever made in favours of lepers, whatever some modern historians pretend. *

The jealousy which the clergy of Palestine retained against the military orders, did not hinder Renaud, lord of Margat, from making in the precedent year a new grant to the hospitallers, or rather an exchange with them, of that castle which is situated on the confines of Judea, as we learn from the author of the assises of Jerusalem. These knights fortified it, put a garrison therein, and made it afterwards, on that side, one of the strongest bulwarks of Christendom in the east.

This acquisition was however by no means a balance to the loss which the order suffered the same year by the death of Joubert the grand master, who had distinguished himself as much by his wisdom and capacity in government, as by his military skill. The historians of that time say, that Saladine, not enduring that the hospitallers should fortify a place on the frontier of his dominions, sent one of his generals to besiege it. The siege was long and bloody; the grand master of the hospitallers, who had thrown himself into the place, stood several assaults with great resolution. Most of his knights, animated by his example, and fighting before his eyes, died upon the breach they defended, the grand master, at the same time, shewing no disposition to hearken to a capitulation. In fine, the in-

* Ecclesiastici quidam quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi quærentes, leprosis qui cum sanis, habitare non possunt, et ad ecclesiam cum aliis convenire, ecclesias et cœmeteria non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare ministerio sacerdotis; quod quia procul a pietate christiana alienum dignoscitur, de benignitate apostolica constituimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communi vita fuerint congregati, quod ecclesiæ sibi cum cœmeterio constituere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero sine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. 3. Conc. Lat. cap. 25.

fidels made such powerful efforts, that they carried the place, sword in hand, cut the knights that were left in pieces, took the grand master prisoner: and their commander, to revenge the obstinate resistance of the grand master, threw him into a dungeon, and left him there to perish with famine. Thus ended his days, that illustrious knight, crowning a life that had been spent in defence of the altars of God, with a death highly precious in his sight. There are other authors who pretend, that he did not fall into the hands of the infidels, but that, seeing the ruinous condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem, he died of grief.

The chapter meeting after his death, chose Roger Desmoulins to succeed him, a knight, who, by his conduct and valour, justified the choice of the companions of the order. His first care after his installation was

to exhort the regent and principal nobility of the kingdom to carry on the war against Saladin with vigour: but the jealousy and competition between the grandees for the government of the state during the king's infirmity, the criminal correspondence of some lords with the infidels, and the division that broke out in his time between the two military orders; all this contributed as much to Saladin's conquests, as his own valour and the courage of his soldiers.

We have observed upon the authority of Brompton, an English historian, of the same age, that the order of templars was as it were a branch of that of the hospitallers of St. John; but this branch says the same author, growing up to a great tree, seemed to eclipse and smother the stock from whence it was taken. This emulation between the two military orders, their eagerness in grasping at new revenues, wherein they vied with each other, a certain jealousy almost inseparable from the profession

cession of arms, and some disputes about rank and precedence, as well in the field as in councils of state, all concurred to keep up a misunderstanding between them, which at last flamed out to such a degree, that they fought and attacked one another as often as they met.

There can be no dispute, but that the piety of both the orders began to dwindle considerably through a conduct so violent in its nature, and so unworthy the religious profession : and if we still find the same valour among these warriors, it must be owned, that it was not so much inspired by christian charity, as by the human motives of glory and ambition.

As these military friars owned no superior but the pope, the king sent Alexander III. advice of their divisions. That Pope, who foresaw how fatal the consequences thereof might be to the Christians of the Holy Land, obliged the knights to be reconciled. A treaty of peace was drawn up by his order ; the two grand masters signed it, as they say in the instrument itself, by the advice and express consent of the two chapters ; and they entered into covenants about several estates which both of them laid claim to, as well as various sums of money which they demanded of each other. We see likewise in the instrument of this treaty, that the pope enjoined them both, in case of any new occasions of dispute, to nominate, each party for themselves, three old knights of the language and priory where the difference should arise, to make an absolute determination of it ; and that if these arbitrators could not agree among themselves, they should refer it to some common friends, to be chosen between them, and which were to serve as additional arbitrators, or else remit the cognisance of it to the holy see. The pope adds in his bull, that whilst they are waiting the final judgement of that tribunal in the case, he exhorts the knights of both orders

orders to be studious in giving mutual proofs of the honour and regard they have for each other, and to join their endeavours, without distinction, for the common good and advantage of the two houses, that, as Alexander says, "though their institution be different, yet it may appear by the bond of charity, which ought to unite them, that they are but one and the same military and regular order."

The hospitallers and templars conformed in appearance to the pope's intentions; but to say the truth, the pontiff's authority rather lulled asleep for a time, than put an end to differences, which had their source from avarice and ambition; two passions that take deep root in the heart of man, and from which the holiest societies are not exempt.

Another passion, so much the more dangerous in that it makes its way into the heart by beauty and the graces of a fine person, had like to have raised a civil war in the principality of Antioch. Bohemund, the sovereign prince of that state, had married to his first wife a daughter of the house of Iblin: and after her death, a Greek princess, named Theodora. Bohemund, led astray by the charms of a concubine, had abandoned his lawful wife. The patriarch of Antioch, after using canonical admonitions in vain, excommunicated him, and laid a general interdict upon all his dominions: a kind of punishment which involves the innocent with the guilty, and is very often of dangerous consequence. Upon this Bohemund, hurried on by his passion, and incensed at a proceeding that might raise a revolt in the principality, made his officers seize on the temporalities of the patriarch, drove him out of Antioch, and besieged him afterwards in a castle which belonged to him, and whether he was retired with the principal of his clergy. The patriarch of Antioch

tioc'h was looked upon as the first prelate of the east, as well in regard to the foundation of his church which is ascribed to St. Peter, as the extent of his patriarchate, which has within its jurisdiction twelve metropolitans, one hundred and fifty three suffragan bishops, and in the city of Antioch alone above three hundred and sixty churches. As the patriarch was not without a great number of dependents attached to his dignity, nor the prince without secret enemies, and as both the principal nobility of the kingdom and the people were discontented at the government, neither of them were sorry to find so plausible a pretence to shew themselves.

In a moment all the principality was up in arms: the malecontents, under pretence of defending the cause of the church, sought to revenge their private injuries. Every body was engaged on the one side or the other, according as his passions or interest led him.

The king of Jerusalem, or rather his council, fearing the infidels should make an advantage of these dissensions, engaged the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the two grand masters, to repair thither with all expedition, and endeavour to quiet the storm. These deputies, passing by Tripoli, brought along with them count Raimond, a particular friend of prince Bohemund. They assembled first at Laodicea, and from thence they went afterwards to Antioch. Being arrived, many conferences were held upon the occasion, and messages sent on both sides: at last they made a sort of provisional treaty, wherein it was agreed, that both sides should lay down their arms; that the patriarch should be immediately restored to the enjoyment of his temporalities, and that the interdict should be taken off, but that the prince should continue excommunicate, if he did not quit his concubine. This restriction served only to inflame his passion for that

woman, and to aggravate his hatred against the chief lords of the principality. He banished afterwards, upon several pretences, the great constable and chamberlain and three other lords who had shewn too much attachment to the patriarch; they retired to the court of Rupin, prince of the lesser Armenia, who, by concert with the grandees of the country, had dispatched the renegado Melier, and had succeeded him in that principality.

The grand master, some time after his return from Antioch, received the mortifying
1182. news, that most of the hospitallers of his order, who were settled at Constantinople, had been massacred in a tumult raised in that imperial city against the Latins. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, with a design to extinguish the schism which he was far from abetting, had brought a considerable number of Latins to Constantinople, and made use of them both in the ministry and in state affairs. The hospitallers had in Constantinople the famous hospital of St. Sanson, lying between the church of St. Sophia and St. Irene; and they were likewise in possession of the hospital of St. John the almoner.

“ It is probable (says M. du Cange, a modern
“ historian indeed, but highly to be respected for
“ his profound learning) that the church of St.
“ Sanson was given to the hospital of St. John of
“ Jerusalem by the emperor Manuel Comnenus,
“ who had such an affection for the Latins, and
“ particularly for the French of the kingdom of
“ Jerusalem, that he incurred thereby the hatred
“ of his own subjects *.”

This hatred broke out after his death †. The Greeks, exasperated by some differences in religion, and resolved not to submit to the authority of the

* Observations sur l'histoire de Geoffroy de Villehardouin. No. 104. p. 302.

† Will. Tyr. l. 22. c. 12.

holy see, set fire to the houses of the Latins, massacred such as fell into their hands, and did not even spare a cardinal, named John, whom the pope, at the emperor's request, had sent to endeavour a re-union of the two churches. The Greek priests and monks were the hottest in promoting this massacre, and to encourage the murderers, gave money among them. These furious people broke into the hospital of St. John above-mentioned, and inhumanely murdered the sick and the religious hospitalers who took care of them. It was with difficulty that a small number made their escape, and getting on board a ship, carried the dismal news of this bloody massacre to Palestine.

They found the kingdom split into factions, and weakened by domestic divisions that brought on its ruin. The king's leprosy not allowing him to marry, or even to hold the reins of government in his own hands, he had given the princess Sybille, his eldest sister, and widow of the marquis of Montferrat, in marriage to Guy de Lusignan, of the house of la Marche, son of Hugh le Brun, whom the mode of devotion that prevailed at that time had brought into Palestine. He was a handsome prince, and of a good mien, but more a courtier than a soldier, and having found out the way to please the princess, he had no great difficulty, by her interest, to gain the good graces of the king.

Baldwin, upon this marriage, made his brother-in-law regent of the kingdom, and reserved nothing to himself but the title of king, and the possession of the city of Jerusalem, with a pension of ten thousand crowns of gold.

The sovereign power, in which the king had given Lusignan a joint share with himself, raised the jealousy of the grandees, who, being born in Palestine, considered that prince as a foreigner. Raimond, count of Tripoli, fomented this division.

This count, the most powerful of all the vassals of the crown, aspired secretly to the succession of Baldwin. As the choice which the king had just made ruined his hopes, he entered thereupon, as it is said, into secret measures with Saladin in order to revive them. The truce which that prince had made with the king of Jerusalem was still subsisting; the business was how to break it, without giving occasion to charge the breach on the Mahometans. Saladin for this purpose gave private orders to one of the governors of his frontiers, to turn flocks of sheep, horses, cows, and other cattle, loose upon the lands of the Christians, and into the fields which were then covered with corn. Renaud de Chatillon, a famous partisan, that was always on horseback, caused all these beasts to be taken and brought to Carach. Renaud de Chatillon, as William of Tyre relates, was but an adventurer and soldier of fortune *, but handsome in his person, distinguished by a great many brave actions, and in his youth, notwithstanding the inequality of their conditions, had married privately Constance, princess of Antioch. He was at that time lord of Carach, a strong place situated on an hill. The Latins had erected it into an archbishoprick, by the name of Mount-royal: it was formerly called Petra of the desert, because it lies on the edge of Arabia Petræa.

Chatillon, with a pretty large number of templars, had fortified himself there, and went frequently out upon parties. The Mahometans had no enemy that they dreaded so much; he carried off frequently whole caravans of pilgrims as they travelled to Mecca; and when he had them in pri-

- * *Domina Constantia domini Raimondi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet in hoc insidiosos et nobiles viros ejus matrimonium experientes, mox sœmineo repulisset, Rainaldum de Castilione quemdam stipendiarium militem sibi occulte in maritum elegit. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 26.*

son, he ridiculed their devotion. Mahomet himself was not spared in his railleries: he had likewise formed the design of destroying his tomb, which has such honours paid it at Medina, the Mahometans holding it in as much veneration as Christians do the sepulchre of Jesus Christ; and he would have made himself master of that town and of Mecca, if the governor, who commanded under Saladine in Arabia, had not discovered his design, and taken proper measures to oppose it.

Saladine, by way of reprisal, imprisoned fifteen hundred christians, merchants and pilgrims, whose ship had run a-ground near Damiata. He sent afterwards to the king of Jerusalem, to demand restitution of all the cattle that Renaud and the templars had carried off, contrary to the truce; and in case satisfaction was not given, the ambassador had orders to declare war against him, and to protest, in that prince's name, that he would treat the Christians, whom he had ordered to be seized, and their effects, in the same manner as they treated the cattle and their drovers, whom they detained, he said, so unjustly at Carach.

The king would very willingly have given satisfaction to the sultan *, whom he dreaded; but he had so little authority, and the government was so weak, that he could never oblige Renaud and the templars to restore the booty they had taken. Saladine upon this, under pretence of taking reprisals, began to make fresh incursions upon the lands of the Christians; and, as he had foreseen, war ensued. He passes the Jordan, puts every thing that opposes him to the sword, carries off the women and children, dragging them into an odious slavery; sets fire to the houses, ravages the open country, and abandons himself to all the cruelties that could strike fear and terror into the minds of the people.

* Herold. Cont. Will. Tyr. l. 1.

These ravages made the principal nobility of the kingdom take the field at the head of their vassals, and supported by the two military orders. These several bodies of troops made up a considerable army. The king, whose infirmity grew every day worse and worse, was not in a condition to take the command upon him *. He had lost his sight. The malignity of his leprosy had taken away the use of his hands and feet, so that he was obliged to intrust
 1183. the command of the army with Lusignan his brother-in-law, whom he had made count of Jaffa and Ascalon, titles belonging to the presumptive heir of the crown. The count, either for want of capacity in the art of war, or through the jealousy of the chief commanders, lay still above eight days in sight of an enemy weaker than himself, without attacking him, and even suffered him to go off with his booty and prisoners, and cross the river Jordan before his eyes, without making the least motion, or daring to go out of his intrenchments.

The Latin Christians, who were all soldiers themselves, and loved to have a general for their prince, complained heavily to the king of the cowardice of his brother-in-law; and most of the nobility protested, that they would never march into the field again under his command. The king, to satisfy them, recalled the power he had intrusted him with; and, as princes often set no bounds either to their favours or resentments, he was deprived of the county of Jaffa †, as being no way qualified to defend that important place, which was one of the keys of the kingdom. The king at the same time named for his successor young Baldwin his
 1183. nephew, son of the princess Sybille and the marquis of Montferrat, her first husband, though that prince was hardly five years old. This

* Will. Tyr. l. 22.

† Will. Tyr. l. 23.

change occasioned great divisions all over the kingdom. Guy de Lusignan retired to Ascalon, where he fortified himself at first against the party that opposed him. But as this prince was much better qualified to talk big of his resentments, than to maintain them sword in hand; he soon returned to court; and in exchange for a crown and sovereignty, which he had been encouraged to expect, and for which no equivalent can be made, he poorly took up with the county of Jaffa that had been taken from him, and was now restored to him with the title of the king's vassal.

Baldwin, who was no longer capable of acting by himself, committed the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, not so much out of regard to him, as for fear he should raise new disturbances in the kingdom, in case he was set aside. Raimond, the secret spring and author of all the cabals of the court, refused the regency at first, being well satisfied that nobody would accept it in his wrong. The king was forced to press and importune him to it; and when at last he consented to take the government upon him, it was with this proviso, that the hospitallers and templars would engage to defend all the places that should be attacked. In the mean time, to secure his authority, he obtained a new truce from Saladine, which that infidel prince granted for a sum of money, to reimburse him the charges of the war.

The Christians view in demanding this truce was to gain time for obtaining a new crusade, and succours from the princes of the west. The main business was to send a solemn embassy thither, and to put the negotiation into the hands of persons qualified by their capacity to manage it, and by their rank and merit to command respect and deference.

Heracius, patriarch of Jerusalem, offered him-
O. 3 self

self for the employment; he was a man of
 1184. much vanity and conceit, and bragged that
 he would not return but at the head of an
 army, composed of the most potent sovereigns in
 Europe. The prince he depended most upon was
 Henry II. king of England, grandson to Fulk count
 of Anjou and king of Jerusalem, and consequently
 cousin-german to Baldwin. What raised the pa-
 triarch's confidence the more, was his being inform-
 ed, that whereas the English prince had received
 absolution from the pope, on account of the mur-
 der of St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of
 which he was suspected, it was only upon condition
 that he should go in person at the head of a power-
 ful succour to the Holy Land. And though that
 prince had not in express terms commanded him to
 be assassinated, yet as some imprudent words of his
 seemed to have occasioned it, he submitted to the
 penance, and in a council held at Auranches in
 Normandy, September 27, 1172, he had made a
 solemn promise, that at the Christmas following he
 would take the cross upon him for three years, and
 set out the next summer for Jerusalem, if the pope
 did not grant him a dispensation for it; and that,
 during the war, or at least for one year, he would,
 besides his own troops, maintain two hundred tem-
 plars at his own expence. None of these condi-
 tions had been as yet performed, though it was near
 thirteen years since he engaged for them.

The patriarch, who was well informed of this
 matter, used the interest of all his friends that he
 might be sent into Europe, flattering himself that
 he should come back with powerful succours for
 the Holy Land, and loaded with great presents to
 himself. But the council could hardly be brought
 to trust such an important negotiation to a prelate,
 who was naturally of a warm temper, and knew
 not how to deal with mankind in any other than a
 haughty manner: yet as it was dangerous to refuse
 him,

him, (and besides they flattered themselves that his dignity might add some consideration to the embassy), they accepted his offer, but appointed the two grand masters for his colleagues, who were qualified by their moderation and good breeding, to soften the roughness of the patriarch's humour; besides, the knights of the two orders were, by reason of their birth and valour, much respected in the west, and in the courts of those princes whose subjects they were born.

These ambassadors set sail from Jaffa, and arrived safe at Brundisium. Pope Lucius III. successor to Alexander, and the emperor Frederic I. were then at Verona, where they had come to an interview, in order to settle the peace of Italy, which they had put into a flame by their reciprocal pretensions. Our ambassadors, desirous to improve the opportunity, made haste to Verona, and laid before both of them the formidable power of Saladine, the miserable and weak condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the necessity of a powerful succour, if they had a mind to preserve the Holy Land. The emperor promised them troops, which he never furnished, and the pope gave them only indulgences and letters of recommendation, which cost him nothing*.

That pontiff wrote indeed very pressing letters to the king of England, threatening him with the judgements of God, if he did not perform the penance prescribed him; and by other letters he solicited the king of France very warmly, to signalize his zeal at his coming to the crown, by an enterprise worthy the piety of his ancestors. Our am-

* Heraclius patriarcha sanctæ resurrectionis, et Rogerus Magister domus hospitalis Jerusalem, tendentes in occidentem, et per Italiam transitum facientes et Galliam, nec a domino papa, nec ab imperatore Romano, nec a Rege Francorum aliqua consulatoria receperunt. Radulph. de Diceto Ang. p. 265.

assadors,

bassadors, furnished with these letters, were preparing for their journey to the two kingdoms, when they were stopped at Verona by a violent illness, which seized the grand master of the templars, and carried him to his grave †. The two ambassadors, after paying him their last offices set out for France, and arrived at Paris in the month of January, A. D. 1185. Philip II. was then upon the throne of France, a young prince about twenty years old. The ambassadors, after delivering him the pope's letters, laid before him the extreme danger the Holy Land was in of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels; and in order to obtain his assistance, and engage him to go in person at the head of his troops, they presented him the keys of the city of Jerusalem, of the tower of David, and of the church of the holy sepulchre, as a sort of investiture, or at least as an earnest of that right of protection which he was to acquire by his arms. The king received the patriarch and grand master very honourably, and gave them, as Rigord says *, the kiss of peace. He ordered at the same time all the prelates of his kingdom to exhort his subjects to take upon them the cross. He would have done it himself, but the council of the young prince, who had no children as yet, did not think it advisable for him to leave his dominions in a juncture of continual wars, which France was obliged to maintain against the English and Flemings. The king therefore contented himself with assuring the ambassadors, that he would maintain at his own expence † all that

† Arnand of Troy.

* In osculo pacis honorifice recepit, diligentissime præpositis terrarum suarum, sive dispensationibus præcipiens quod ubicunque per terram irent, de redditibus regis sufficientes expensas illis ministrarent. Rigord. p. 171.

† De consilio principum strenuos milites cum magna multitudine
pedum

that should assume the cross, and take up arms out of so holy and pious a motive.

The patriarch and grand master passed next into England, from whence the patriarch, as we have said, expected to obtain the most considerable succours †. The ambassadors being arrived, delivered the pope's letter to the king, and represented to him the need the holy places were in of his arms, and particularly of his presence. Henry received them with great demonstrations of respect. It is even said, that he went as far as Reading to meet them ‖. But he was advanced in years, and besides had three sons full of fire, of a restless and ambitious disposition, and hard to be kept in a due submission to his authority, so long a voyage as that of Jerusalem was by no means convenient, either for his health or the present situation of his affairs. Nevertheless, to amuse the ambassadors, he referred the decision of that matter to the parliament, which met the first Sunday in lent. That august assembly was acquainted in the king's name, with the sincere desire he had of marching to the Holy Land, in order to perform his penance, and at the same time did not fail to take notice of his old age, the bad state of his health, and withal the necessity of his presence in England. His complaisant subjects easily guessed at the prince's sentiments, and did not forget to conform themselves to them: they sent him a deputation with great ceremony, to represent to him in the nation's behalf, that by an obligation antecedent to St. Thomas's death, and his own absolution, and by the solemn oath which he took the day of his coronation, he was under greater obligations to stay

peditum armorum de propriis redditibus sumptus sufficientes prout fama referente didicimus, ministrans, devotè Jerusalem transmissit, Id. ibid.

† Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 12. p. 425.

‖ Roger. Hoveden. in Henr. II.

at home, and govern his dominions, than he could be to leave them, and go in person to make war in Palestine. That the parliament nevertheless was of opinion to give fifty thousand merks of silver for the levying of troops that should be sent away immediately for Asia; that the crusade should be preached over all the kingdom, and the king should give leave to such prelates and noblemen as would take the cross upon them, to go out of the land upon so holy an expedition. The king communicated this resolution to the ambassadors, who desired of him to send at least one of his sons at the head of the crusaders: but his answer was, that none of them were then in England, and he could not engage them in their absence. The patriarch, who was naturally passionate, told him insolently, that they had no need of his money, but of a general fit to command an army. He went on with a thousand extravagant expressions, even so far as to upbraid him with his infidelity to the king of France his superior lord, and the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury: and seeing Henry, who was the haughtiest man alive, reddened with anger and vexation; "Here's my head, says he, treat me if you please, as you did my brother Thomas; it is indifferent to me whether I die here by your orders, or in Syria by the hands of the infidels, for you are worse than any Saracen of them all *."

Henry, either out of greatness of mind, or for fear of another quarrel with the ecclesiasticks, took no notice of this insolence. But there is no expressing the concern and confusion of the grand master of the hospitallers, to see himself joined in commission with a man of so violent a temper as the patriarch, who, by his extravagant passions,

* *Fac de me quod de Thomas fecisti, adeo libenter volo a te occidi in Anglia si ut a Saracenis in Syria, quia tu omni Saraceno peior es.* Chron. Joan. Brompt. in Henr. II. p. 1145.

ruined all the benefit they had reason to expect from their negotiation. He omitted nothing to pacify the king, who seemed to sacrifice his resentments to the interests of religion. This prince carried the compliment so far, as to take the two ambassadors of Jerusalem with him in his own ship to Normandy, where they kept the feast of Easter at Rouen.

We are told in Trivet's chronicle, that this prince gave them three thousand merks of silver out of his own exchequer *. A great number of the English, and many of his subjects on the other side the sea, took the cross, and joined the French that Philip II. sent into the east at his own expence. But as there wanted a prince, or some person of authority sufficient to command them, and make himself obeyed, they received no great advantage from this armament; and upon the ambassador's return, a general consternation succeeded the false hopes that the patriarch had given of his negotiation.

It was not long before they were acquainted at Jerusalem with his odd and extravagant conduct at the court of England; all the world inveighed bitterly against him; it was publicly said, that the true cross which had been recovered formerly by a prince called Herculius, was going to be lost again under the pontificate, and by the fault of a patriarch of the same name; every body detested the violence of his passions, and they did not spare his conduct, particularly with regard to a woman, whom he kept publicly, and who was better known by the title of the patriarchess than by her own name †.

These complaints against that prelate were followed by dismal presages of what was to come.

* Spicil. t. 8. p. 489.

† Marim. Sanut. l. 3. part. 5. c. 24. p. 147.

The king was dying; his successor a minor; the regent infinitely ambitious, without religion, and suspected of aspiring at the crown, and holding correspondence with the infidels; the truce almost expired; the enemy powerful and formidable; few troops and less money; various parties in the state, and divisions, which are always fatal in a minority.

The king's death happened in this miserable juncture, and was followed, seven months after, by that of young Baldwin V. his nephew and successor. The enemies of the count of Tripoli gave out, that he had poisoned the young king, in hopes of succeeding him, as well by virtue of his birth right, as by the strength of his own forces, and the interest and power of his partisans.

Others laid this enormous crime upon the very mother of young Baldwin *, and pretended that she had poisoned her own son, to make a way to the throne for herself, and for Guy de Lusignan her second husband. What confirmed these suspicions was, that no body knew any thing either of the young prince's illness, or of the time of his death, till that princess, having made sure of the patriarch, the grand master of the templars, and the marquis of Montferrat †, surrounded the palace with troops; and the grand master, who had the crown, and all the royal ornaments in his custody, being bribed by a considerable sum, delivered them up to her, without the consent of the grandees of the kingdom: and the same day that the young king's death was declared ‡, the queen his mother, and Guy de Lusignan were proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem.

The count of Tripoli's creatures, who despised Lusignan, openly opposed this proclamation; and

* Herold. contin. Will. Tyr. l. 2, c. 3.

† Gerard de Ridefort.

‡ Idem Herold. ibid. p. 8.

even Geoffrey de Lusignan, a prince of wonderful strength of body, and extraordinary valour. but no ways prejudiced in favour of Guy's courage, hearing of his promotion to the crown of Palestine, could not help crying out, in a manner not over christian indeed, "Those that have made my brother a king, would have made me a god if they had known me." Most of the grandees of the kingdom complained, that the grand master of the templars, who had the guard and custody of the royal crown, had without their consent or knowledge, delivered it up to the queen, and withal to Guy de Lusignan, who had no right to it. These lords, who were of the first rank in the kingdom, represented to the people, that, as affairs then stood in the Holy Land, they had need of a general for their king, and such an one as had the esteem and good opinion of the army; adding withal, that the crown could not descend but to the heirs male of the royal family, which entirely excluded the two princesses, sisters to young Baldwin. These open pretensions divided all the Christians of Palestine: they levied troops on both sides, and were ready to come to a battle, when the affair was happily turned into a negotiation.

The count of Tripoli, who was the secret spring that put the cabal against the court in motion, sent the principal lords of his party to the princess Sybille, to let her know, that they would freely consent to put the crown upon her head; but then they expected, that if she would have a king for her husband, she should divorce Lusignan, and chuse such a prince for the partner of her throne and bed, as was capable of commanding the army, and defending the kingdom.

The princess, who was a very shrewd person, agreed to these proposals; but required on the other hand, that the grandees should bind themselves by a solemn oath, to acknowledge him for their sovereign.

reign whom she should chuse for her husband. The oath was the more readily taken, in that, though the regent was actually married, yet his adherents flattered themselves, that by help of a like divorce, the princess's choice could fall upon no body but that prince. The patriarch, whom the queen had gained by a swinging bribe, pronounced immediately the sentence of divorce between her and Lusignan. History does not acquaint us with the pretences alledged upon that occasion; but after the divorce was declared, and the princess acknowledged for queen, they conducted her to the church of the holy sepulchre, where she was crowned by the patriarch with great solemnity. She took * the crown immediately from her own head, and put it upon Guy de Lusignan's, embraced him as her husband, saluted him as king, and turning towards the grandees, who were stunned at this unexpected step, "What God has joined, says she to them, with an air of stateliness, 'tis not for men to put asunder." * The grand master of the templars, who was let into the intrigue, supported her with all his interest. The grandees were at last obliged to submit, and consent to a choice they could not help, and the people, who were always fond of ceremonies, contrary to their custom, saw this last with more amazement than pleasure.

The count of Tripoli was the only person who looked upon the queen's choice as an injustice done to himself. 'Tis impossible to express how much he was enraged at this preference: he swore the death of his rival, and of the templars also who had contributed so much to his advancement: and he did not care though he perished himself, if he could but crush his enemies with his own fall.

Full

* Prefata regina accepit coronam regiam in manibus suis, et posuit eam super caput Guidonis de Lusignan mariti sui, dicens, Ego te in regem et dominum meum et terræ Hierosolymitanæ, quæ quod Deus conjunxit, homo separare non debet. Rog. Hovaden. p. 634.

Full of this spirit of revenge, and resolved to sacrifice every thing to his resentment, he went off abruptly, and retired to his own territories. Saladin, an able politician as well as a great general, no sooner heard of his discontent, than he sent a private messenger that he could depend upon to treat with him. This envoy represented to him, with all the appearances of frankness, that it was not his master's interest to suffer a christian and independent kingdom in the heart of so many provinces as composed his empire; but that if he would turn Mahometan and become his vassal, he would engage to place him on the throne of Jerusalem; and, in order to maintain him on it, would sacrifice all the templars, their common enemies, to his security.

Raimond, blinded with his passion, agreed to every thing. It is said, that he immediately caused himself to be circumcised. But the better to carry on their designs, it was agreed between him and the envoy, that he should not publicly declare himself of another religion, till after he was in possession of the throne; and that to destroy the new king the more surely, he should reconcile himself with him.

The perfidious count went with this design to Jerusalem. Some common friends that he applied to for that purpose, and who had no other view but to put an end to the division, interposed honestly in the accommodation. Peace was made between them. Raimond acknowledged Lusignan for his sovereign: and this count, so capable by his valour of defending the holy places, was not ashamed to add treason to his apostacy.

Saladin, as it was agreed between them, fell into Palestine, at the head of a mighty army. His design was to besiege Acre, the strongest and richest city of the whole kingdom. His army was computed to amount to near fifty thousand horse, besides foot; and most of these troops were made up

of the old inhabitants of the country, or their children; whom the kings of Jerusalem, after the conquest of Godfrey de Bouillon, had driven out of it. They returned, all in Saladine's retinue, in hopes of a speedy conquest, and of recovering the inheritance of their fathers.

The sultan, favoured under hand by the count of Tripoli, found no opposition in his 1187. march, and advancing to Acre, laid siege to the town. The king had committed the defence of it to the two grand masters, who had out-marched the enemy with a large body of hospitallers and templars, the surest resource the state had to depend on. The two grand masters, making the garrison and inhabitants take arms, sallied out in the night-time *. The Christians, carrying their swords in one hand and fire in the other, surprise the infidels, break into their camp, demolish their tents, cut the throats of all they find asleep, and set every thing on fire. Terror and consternation seize the enemy's army; but the daylight, which began to appear, and Saladine's presence, recovered them from their fright; each regiment drew up under their respective colours; they came to a regular engagement, and endeavoured to surround the Christians.

Though the infidels were vastly superior in numbers, yet the military friars, who never counted their enemies, keep their ground, push the enemy before them, fall upon the body that Saladine himself had rallied: all engage close, and mix together, making one universal slaughter; rivers of blood run down on both sides; no quarter given, nor prisoners taken: an equal fury animated the soldiers of both parties. If Saladine shewed as much conduct as courage in this action, the two grand masters on their side, bravely followed by their knights performed prodigies of valour. The

* Contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 2.

grand master Desmoulins, at the head of the hospitallers, pierced several times into the enemy's squadrons; nothing could stand before him. The count of Tripoli, who, it is said, was disguised on this occasion, and fought in favour of the infidels, to dispatch so terrible a warrior, killed his horse, who falling down, tumbled upon the grand master, and the weight of his armour hindering him from rising, the infidels pierced his body with a thousand wounds, even after he was dead, either to revenge the death of their comrades, or because these barbarians thought they could never be too sure that so great a commander would not rise again *. Many of the hospitallers died bravely over the body of their chief, labouring to save it from the fury of the barbarians †. At last both parties being spent, gave over fighting, and there was no other ground but Saladine's retreat for concluding that the greatest loss was on his side.

The hospitallers made a diligent search over the field of battle for the body of their grand master to pay him their last offices ‡. After a great deal of pains they found it at last under a heap of Turcomans and Saracens, who had fallen by the edge of his scymitar, or whom his knights had, after his death, sacrificed to their resentment. He was carried into Acre, and the funeral of that great man was solemnized there with the tears of his knights, and the universal lamentation of the inhabitants.

They proceeded afterwards to the choice of his successor; and as the enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and they were in continual ex-

* Eodem die, videlicet calendas Maii, sexaginta fratres templi, et summus magister domus hospitalis, cum pluribus domus sue fratribus, interfecti sunt. Rog. Hoveden. in Henr. II.

† Chron. de Nangis.

‡ Contin. Will. Tyr. lib. i. c. 5.

pectations of another battle, the hospitallers were very sensible that they had more need than ever of a general and able warrior to command them. The choice of this juncture

GARNIER fell upon brother Garnier, a native OF SYRIA. of Napolî in Syria, grand prior of England, and Turcopolier of the order, titles that were inseparable; which shews that at that time the dignities were not annexed as they are now, to the different languages and nations of which the order is composed.

The Turcoples, from whence the name of Turcopolier is derived, were anciently, as William of Tyre relates *, a company of light horse. The original of the term came from the Turcomans, who gave the name of Turcoples in general to such children as were born of a Greek mother and a Turcoman father, and were designed for the war service. It was afterwards a title of military dignity in the kingdom of Cyprus, from whence it was adopted into the order of St. John. But the hospitallers used it only to signify the colonel general of the infantry. Brother Garnier had resided for some time in England, in quality of bailiff and turcopolier of the order. During that time king Henry II. having expelled the canons regular out of the famous abbey of Buckland, for living too licentious, gave this monastery to the order, and brother Garnier put some nuns that were hospitallers of St. John into it. This great bailiff came back afterwards into Palestine, to share in the dangers and glory of his brethren; and his valour and virtues advanced him to the dignity of grand master, upon the death of brother Roger Desmoulins.

His first care was to recal the greatest part of the

* Will. Tyr. l. i. c. 7. l. 19. c. 24. l. 22. s. 9.; Affises du Royaume de Jerusalem, p. 458. Histoire de l'Île de Cypre, par Etienne de Lusignan, Albert. Acq. l. 5. c. 3.

knights, who were dispersed in various places †; and he received likewise several novices into the order, to supply the room of such as were lost in the last action, and to put himself in a condition of making head with success against the arms of Saladine.

That prince, by agreement with the count of Tripoli, and the better to conceal their correspondence, laid siege to Tiberias, which belonged to the count, in right of Eschine his wife, who made her ordinary residence there. The town was carried immediately, and the countess, who knew nothing of her husband's treason, retired into the castle which was better fortified. The traitor Raimond, as if he had been very anxious about the success of the siege, cries out for succour, calls all his friends about him, and lays before the king the great importance of the place, which covered all the frontier on that side. They resolved immediately to throw in succours, cost what it would. The king prepared to march himself at the head of what forces he had got together; but the count, who had a mind to deliver all the forces of the kingdom up at once to Saladine, remonstrated to the king, that if he advanced with an army so much inferior to that of the sultan, he would expose himself infallibly to a defeat; that Saladine had at least 8000 horse besides his foot, and that to oppose so formidable a power, it was necessary to draw all the garrisons out of the strong towns, and bring into the field all the inhabitants that were able to bear arms, in order to increase the army, and have less to fear from the number of the infidels.

Guy de Lusignan, who was neither a great soldier, nor an able politician, abandoned himself to the perfidious council of a reconciled enemy: all the strong towns were drained of their garrisons,

† Nangis ad An. 1188.

and even of their inhabitants, and not a soul left in them but old men, women and children. The whole fortune of the kingdom was staked upon this confused multitude of soldiers, citizens and peasants, armed ridiculously enough, most of them marching without any order, and only animated by fury and passion.

Upon the approach of the Christians, Saladine drew out of his lines; they soon met; the fight lasted for three days, and was very bloody. Guy de Lusignan, by the count of Tripoli's advice, had encamped among the rocks, as in a place where there was no forcing him; but the treacherous count had concealed from him, that the soldiers could have no water in that place, but what they must pass through the army of the infidels to fetch. A want of so pressing a nature was soon felt. Necessity obliged them to advance the next day against the enemy, to open themselves a passage to the river. The * templars, who were in the van, marched down first into the plain, charged the infidels with their usual valour; and upon the first onset drove them before them. Never had those brave warriors distinguished themselves by so much courage and intrepidity on any occasion. They pierced and broke the first squadrons of the infidels; but the count of Tripoli, who commanded the body that was to sustain them, instead of following the path which those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had opened to victory, abandoned them, and fled by compact with Saladine, who let him escape; and the

* Templarii robustissimo in hostem impetu procurrentes, primarum hostium turmarum densitatem ruperunt, et earum vel stragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verum tunc demum nostrorum nefanda propositio et nefaria cum hoste collusio clauit; comes enim Tripolitani, ceterique optimates cum turmis suis, sprete dispositione regia, præclarum illam templi militiam, hostes fortiter proterentem, dum non tequerentur, periclitari fecere; atque ita templarii, confertissimis hostium cuneis, nullo sequente, immersi illico vel victima vel præda fuerunt. Will. Neubrig. l. 3. p. 430.

templars being left alone in the plain, were overborne by the multitude of their enemies, and were all killed or taken prisoners: the rest of the army retired into their camp in the rocks, where that traitor, the count of Tripoli, had insnared them. The flight of that prince, whose capacity and valour they had a great opinion of, made the Christians think the affair was desperate. They passed the night among the rocks without water, in the month of July. Saladine, to add to the heat of the season, set fire to the woods that grew upon the mountain, and encircled the camp of the Christians; the soldiers, half dead with thirst and weariness, lay down upon the ground, giving themselves no concern about the enemy, as thinking death was not the worst of evils. Saladine having notice from some deserters, that there was no longer any order or command observed in the camp, attacked it, and found but a weak resistance. It was not so much a fight as a butchery. The Turcomans and Sarazens gave no quarter; rivers of blood ran down between the rocks; the whole army was either destroyed or taken prisoners; the king, the grand master of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and a great number of the nobility and knights of St. John and the temple fell alive into the infidels hands. The Turks took likewise the true cross, which was usually carried into the field. The grand master of the hospitallers, after some feats of incredible valour, made his escape though all over wounds, and opened his way, sword in hand, through the enemy's squadrons: he reached Ascalon, but died the next day of his wounds.

Saladine, who flattered himself that by the extinction of the military orders he should the more easily make himself master of the Holy Land *, no-

* Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 43. Rog. Hoveden, p. 637. Herold. contra Belli Sacri, l. 1. p. 14.

tified to the hospitallers and templars who were prisoners of war, that they had no way to avoid death but by changing their religion, and renouncing Jesus Christ: but these noble warriors offered themselves with satisfaction to the slaughter; they were all put to death by the barbarians*; and the constancy and firmness with which they received it, animating the faith of the common soldiers, several of them that were only seculars, by an innocent fraud, cried out that they were templars, and, as if afraid of wanting executioners, they pressed forward, striving with one another which should be first sacrificed by the sword of the infidels.

The sultan after this gave orders to bring the king into his tent, with the grand master of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and the other noblemen that were taken prisoners, none of whom expected a more favourable fate. Saladine, to remove the king's apprehensions, made him sit down by him, and seeing the unfortunate prince half dead with thirst and weariness, ordered a liquor to be brought him, that was agreeable to the taste, and cooled in snow. The king having drank, gave the cup to Renaud, but the sultan opposed it, and told the king by his interpreter, "It is for you that I sent for this liquor, and not for that vile man, who is never to hope for quarter." To understand the meaning of these words, it must be observed, that among these infidels, the rights of hospitality were inviolable, and those Barbarians never put their prisoners to death, when they had once given them any thing to eat or drink with their own hand.

It was for this reason that Saladine hindered Re-

* Milites templi et hospitalis quos in campo non voraverat gladius, ab aliis si gregatè captivis Saladinus coram se decollari præcepit. Rog. Hoved. p. 637.

Quotquot templarii et hospitalarii inveniuntur, protinus decollantur ibidem. Nangis ad an. 11,

naud from drinking after the king; he reproached him heavily with the truces that he had violated, his robberies, and his inhumanity towards the prisoners which he had taken, rather said he, as a robber, than according to the rules of war; and withal imputed to him as the greatest of crimes, according to the principles of his religion, the design he had formed of surprizing and plundering Mecca and Medina. "You must then, to repair such a series of outrages, says the sultan in a louder tone, either renounce Jesus Christ immediately, or die a victim to our prophet's vengeance." Renaud, bold and intrepid even under the sword of the enemy, answered him, that a Christian did not know what it was to purchase his life by such a baseness. Saladin thereupon, transported with wrath, drew his scymitar and struck off his head, making a martyr of that noble man, who by so christian and brave an end, atoned for what was less justifiable in his manner of making war. The sultan, at the king's request, spared the life of the grand master of the templars, sending him to Damascus, with the king and the other prisoners, from whom he expected to draw a vast ransom.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was in a terrible desolation; there were no troops nor any leaders to command them; the towns were left without inhabitants; the two military orders had lost the greatest part of their knights; and of the two grand masters one was just dead of the wounds he had received in battle, and the grand master of the temple was a prisoner at Damascus.

In this melancholy situation, the hospitallers that were left assembled to proceed to the choice of a new grand master. One might then have said of that great post, what St. Paul says of the episcopal office, on account of the sufferings and persecutions attending it, that it was a meritorious work to desire that eminent dignity. In truth, they were forced

ERMENGARD brother Ermengard Daps, to oblige him in that dismal juncture to take the government upon him.

DAPS. This order that was lately so powerful and formidable to the infidels, was now almost extinct by the great number of knights that were lost in the late battles; and the few that had escaped the fury of the Sarazens, were in continual expectation of undergoing the same fate; the grand master at the same time being unable to discover any resource for himself and his brethren, but an honourable death if they failed of victory.

Saladine, to make his advantage of the general consternation, followed the torrent of his fortune; most of the fortified places of the kingdom opened their gates to him; the city of St. John d'Acre, destitute of military friars, its brave defenders, held out but two days; and of all the conquests of the Christians none were left but Jerusalem, Tyre, Ascalon, Tripoli and Antioch: and of these two last places one was independent of the crown of Jerusalem and the other was only held of it in fief.

To give a better notion of the deplorable condition of that kingdom, it may not be improper to insert here the circular letter which a templar, a sorrowful witness of this fatal revolution, wrote to his brethren of the west, after the battle of Tiberias.

“ Brother Thierry grand préceptor, the poor
“ convent and whole order, but now almost reduced to nothing, To all the préceptors and all
“ our brethren of the temple, send greeting in him
“ to whom we address our groans, and whom the
“ sun and the moon adore.

“ We cannot, our dearest brethren, express to
“ you by these letters, nor even by tears of blood,
“ all the calamities that our sins have drawn upon
“ our heads. The Turcomans, that barbarous
“ nation, having covered the face of the land, we
“ advanced

“ advanced to relieve the castle of Tiberias, which
 “ those infidels were besieging; an engagement
 “ soon ensued, but the enemy having driven us in-
 “ to rocks and craggy mountains, our troops were
 “ cut in pieces; thirty thousand men fell in that
 “ fatal day. The king is taken, and what is still
 “ more deplorable, the precious wood of the true
 “ cross is fallen into the hands of the infidels. Sa-
 “ ladine, to crown his victory, has cut off the
 “ heads of two hundred and thirty of our brethren
 “ who were taken in battle, without reckoning
 “ sixty others that were lost in a former engage-
 “ ment. The sovereign of the barbarians is alrea-
 “ dy master of the principal towns of the kingdom.
 “ The Christians have nothing left but Jerusalem,
 “ Ascalon, Tyre and Berytus, and even the garri-
 “ sons and chief inhabitants of these places perished
 “ in the battle of Tiberias: so that it is impossible
 “ without the succour of heaven, and your assist-
 “ ance, to preserve them, &c.”

But this assistance was too remote, and there was
 no likelihood of its arriving time enough to stop the
 progress of Saladine's arms. That conqueror, after
 reducing St. John d'Acre, Jaffa, Napolousa, Se-
 baste, Nazareth, Sefurieth, Cæsarea, Sidon and
 Berytus, marched straight to the capital, and in-
 vested Jerusalem, the main design that he had in
 view. The queen was in it; but the city had no
 body to defend it but the inhabitants, the chief of
 which too, being Greeks by religion, were secret
 enemies of the Latins. Saladine, who knew their
 disposition well, and thought himself already ma-
 ster of the place, refused to come to any composi-
 tion with the queen. That princess, after a slight
 resistance, had desired to capitulate. Saladine sent
 her word, that he was resolved to enter the place
 sword in hand, to revenge, as he said, the blood
 of so many Mussulmen massacred by the Christians
 in the time of Godfrey de Bouillon. The cruelty of

this answer made the Latin Christians resolve to bury themselves in the ruins of the place : Men, women, and children, all took arms ; and despair supplying the place of valour, they stood the infidels attacks with so resolute a courage, that the sultan, either apprehending some revolution, or at least fearing that the length of the siege might retard the other conquests that he proposed, consented at last to enter into a negotiation ; and the treaty was signed on both sides the fourteenth day of the siege. It was agreed by the capitulation, that the queen should deliver up the town in the condition it was in, and without demolishing any thing ; that the gentry and military persons should march out with their arms, and have a convoy to conduct them to Tyre or any other town they pleased ; that with regard to the inhabitants, the natural Greeks might stay there, but all such as were Latins by descent, should be obliged to leave the place ; and to shew, that he was master of their lives and liberty, he would make them pay for their ransom, the men ten crowns of gold, and the women five, and two for every child ; and that all who could not pay these respective rates, should remain slaves to the conqueror.

All the night long, which ushered in the execution of this dreadful treaty, nothing was to be heard in Jerusalem, but the groans, wailings and cries of the miserable inhabitants, lamenting their fate, and that they were obliged to deliver up the holy city with their own hands to the infidels. Men, women and children, young and old, prostrated themselves before the holy sepulchre, bathing it with their tears, kissing and embracing it, and being unable to part from it, in fine, the day broke, and the dismal moment arrived, when the gates were to be opened to the victorious enemy. The infidels took possession of the place ; but Saladine, attended with his principal officers, would not make his entry till all the Latin Christians were gone

gone out. The first who appeared in the mournful procession, were mothers loaded with their little children, that were as yet unable to walk; others led by the hand such as were a little stronger; the men carried the provisions and the small household goods necessary for their families; the queen, encircled with the military men that were left, came after the people, accompanied with the two little princesses her daughters, the patriarch and his clergy, and followed by all the persons of distinction of both sexes. Saladine, as the queen drew near, advanced to meet her, spoke to her with great respect, and to comfort her, gave her hopes of setting the king her husband at liberty, in consideration of a moderate ransom. Some christian ladies of the queen's retinue, whose husbands had been taken by Saladine during the war, passing before that prince, and being seized with a fresh sense of their afflictions at his sight, gave terrible shrieks, and held up their hands like suppliants. The prince enquiring what they had to ask of him, one of the ladies coming up to him said, "We have lost our all, sir, but one word of yours can ease the grief that so sensibly afflicts us. Give us back our fathers, our brothers, and our husbands, that by the fortune of war are your prisoners, and we freely abandon to you all the rest. With pledges so dear as they, we cannot be entirely miserable; they will take care of us, and the God whom we adore, who provides even for the birds of the air, will provide for our children."

Saladine, who had nothing of the barbarian in him but his birth, touched with the tears of these ladies, who had thrown themselves at his feet, after making them rise up, ordered all the prisoners that they claimed to be delivered to them. He added likewise to this grace some presents that he made them, and what shewed a great fund of humanity in this sultan, after his entry into Jerusalem, being

informed of the care which the hospitallers took of the sick and wounded, he gave those knights, tho' enemies of his religion, leave to stay in Jerusalem a year longer, till the sick were entirely cured.

Thus Jerusalem, eighty eight years after the conquest of it by the first crusade, fell again under the dominion of the infidels. Saladine, before he entered into the city, caused the bells to be broken and melted down, and the patriarchal church to be washed with rose water. This church was built at first upon the old ruins of the temple of Solomon by the caliph Omar, who, in A. D. 636, having taken Jerusalem, made it the principal mosque. This mosque, which was by the infidels called Alaxa, was turned into a church upon the conquest of Godfrey de Bouillon; and the pilgrims were so imposed on by a false tradition, that they believed it to be the very temple of Solomon that was destroyed by the Romans, and rebuilt afterwards by the Christians. However this be, Saladine being master of the city, the queen retired with the princesses her daughters to Ascalon; the inhabitants of Jerusalem dispersed themselves into different places of Asia and Europe; some took refuge at Tripoli, others made their way to Antioch, and a great number, despairing ever to see the kingdom of Jerusalem restored, passed as far as Sicily and Italy. It was at this time, as we are told, that the nuns hospitallers of St. John, flying from the confusions of war, retired into Europe with the grand master's permission, where they afterwards made considerable settlements, as we shall see in the course of this work.

Thierry, grand preceptor of the templars, in a letter that he wrote to Henry king of England, gave him an account of this strange revolution; and as such original pieces are of great authority in history, we fancy the reader will not be displeased to find

and the letter here inserted, that relates the miserable circumstances of these great events.

“ Know, great king, says the templar to him ;
 “ that Saladine has taken the city of Jerusalem,
 “ and the tower of David ; the Syrian Christians
 “ are allowed to guard the holy sepulchre only till
 “ the fourth day after next Michaelmas ; the hos-
 “ pitaliers are permitted to stay a year longer in
 “ their house, to take care of the sick ; the knights
 “ of that order, who are in the castle of Beauvoir,
 “ distinguish themselves every day by their various
 “ enterprizes against the Sarazens ; they have late-
 “ ly taken two caravans from the infidels, in the
 “ first of which they found the arms and ammu-
 “ nition which the Turka were transporting from
 “ the fortress of la Fere, after they had demolish-
 “ ed it. Carac, in the neighbourhood of Mount-
 “ royal, Mont royal itself, Sapheta of the temple,
 “ another Carac, and Margat, which belongs to
 “ the hospitallers, Castelblanco, Tripoli and An-
 “ tioch, still hold out against all the efforts of the
 “ Turks. Saladine has caused the great cross to
 “ be taken down from the dome of the church,
 “ that was built on the ground of Solomon’s tem-
 “ ple, and for two days together it was dragged
 “ ignominiously through the streets, trampled un-
 “ der foot, and defiled with dirt. They have wash-
 “ ed the inside and outside of that church with
 “ rose water, by way of purification, in order to
 “ make a mosque of it, and there they have so-
 “ lemnly proclaimed the law of Mahomet. The
 “ Turks have laid siege to Tyre ever since Martin-
 “ mas ; a great number of military engines play
 “ upon it day and night, throwing in continually
 “ square stones of a vast bigness. Young Conrad,
 “ son to the marquis of Montferrat, has shut
 “ himself up in the place, and makes a gallant de-
 “ fence, being well seconded by the knights of St.
 “ John and the templars ; on the eve of St. Silve-

“fter, seventeen christian galleys, with thofe brave
 “friars on board, failed out of the port, with ten
 “other Sicilian veffels, commanded by general
 “Margarit, a Catalan by nation, and attacked the
 “fleet of Saladine, in a manner before his eyes;
 “the infidels were defeated; the great admiral of
 “Alexandria, and eight emirs were made prifon-
 “ers; they took eleven fhips, and a great number
 “ran a ground on the coaft, which Saladine fet on
 “fire, and burnt to afhes, for fear they fhould fall
 “into the hands of the Chriftians. That prince
 “appeared the next day in his camp, mounted on
 “the fineft of his horfes, whole tail and ears he
 “had cut, making thus a publick acknowledge-
 “ment of the defeat he had received, and of the
 “trouble it gave him.”

To have a right notion of what paffed at the
 fiefge of Tyre, it muft be obferved, that Saladine,
 after the taking of Jerufalem, befieged Afcalon,
 which the queen furrendered to him, in confider-
 ation of his fetting the king her hufband, the grand
 mafter of the templars, and fifteen other noblemen
 at liberty; and by his treaty, Guy de Lufignan
 made a folemn renunciation of the title of king of
 Jerufalem. This prince, with the queen his wife,
 retired afterwards to a caftle by the fea fide, where
 they were rather hid than in a condition to defend
 themfelves. Saladine, without troubling himfelf
 about an enemy whom he defpifed, marched from
 Afcalon to lay fiefge to Tyre, an ancient and famous
 city of Phœnicia, celebrated in holy writ for its
 king Hiram, the friend of Solomon, and renown-
 ed in hiftory for the fiefge laid to it by Alexander
 the great, againft whom it held out feven compleat
 months, and had not been then taken, if that
 prince had not joined the ifle, in which it ftands,
 to the main land, by means of a bank, which he
 raifed to fill up the arm of the fea, which made it
 an ifland. The inhabitants, degenerated from the
 bravery

bravery of their ancestors, and dreading the miseries of a place carried by storm, were preparing, upon Saladine's approach, to go to meet him, and offer him the keys of the city, when young Conrad the last of the marquess of Montferrat's sons, being come into the Holy Land, out of zeal to contribute to his father's liberty, who was then Saladine's prisoner, encouraged them to make an honourable defence, and offered them his service; but he added, that he would not shed a drop of his blood for such a coward of a prince as Guy de Lusignan, and insisted, that if he had the good fortune, as he hoped, to preserve the place, they should engage by a solemn treaty, to acknowledge him for their lord. The Tyrians, deserted by their sovereign, and left to themselves, agreed to the condition. Conrad called in to his assistance a considerable number of the knights of St. John, who put themselves at the head of the inhabitants, and soon made such soldiers of them, that they seemed to be animated with the same spirit and courage; the very women did their part, either shooting arrows at the besiegers, or carrying victuals to their husbands, who lay upon the ramparts. Never was the place more bravely defended from the time that Alexander the great laid siege to it. Saladine, discouraged at the length of a siege that stopped the progress of his arms, resolved to raise it; but before he decamped, he caused the marquess's father, whom he had taken prisoner, at the battle of Tiberias, to be carried before the walls, and an herald being admitted into the place, declared to young Conrad, that they were going that instant to cut off his father's head, if he would not surrender Tyre to the sultan.

The young prince, divided between two duties, which seemed to him equally indispensable, was to determine, whether he should save his father's life, or abandon a christian people, to whom he had pledged

pledged his faith. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he affected a firmness, that went even to an indifference; "Go, says he, to the herald, tell your master from me, that he cannot put a prisoner of war to death, that surrendered upon his parole, without the utmost dishonour to himself, and that, for my part, I shall think myself happy to have had a martyr of Jesus Christ for my father." After this they began to shoot afresh from the city; but the soldiers had private orders given them, not to point their arrows towards the place where the old marquis was exposed in chains. The sultan, who had no particular reason to destroy that prince, from whom too he expected a great ransom, sent him back to prison, and raised the siege. No sooner was he retired to a convenient distance, but the king of Jerusalem quitted his retreat, with a design to reap the fruit of young Montferrat's valour. He presented himself before the place, and was going to enter as the sovereign of it; but he found the gates shut, and the inhabitants cried out to him, that they were surprized he had forgot the duty he owed to his subjects during the siege; that he was come a little too late; that a braver person than he had taken his place, and acquired the lordship of Tyre by the justest of all titles, for having defended it valiantly at the hazard of his life against the infidels *. Guy de Lusignan was forced to retire; but these reciprocal pretensions raised a sort of civil war between the two princes. The grand master of the templars, either because he thought the king's cause the justest, or by reason of the particular friendship contracted between them during their common imprisonment, declared himself openly against the marquis of Montferrat. He not only treated him as an usurper, but hindered supplies of provisions

* Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 19. p. 432.

and ammunition from being brought into the place ; and in prejudice of the common interests of Christianity, as well as in breach of that nice honour and fidelity, that the nature of a trust requires, he diverted to other uses a considerable sum of money which the king of England, charmed with the reputation of young Conrad, had sent him to fortify Tyre, and maintain a garrison in it. This we learn from a letter of young Conrad's to the archbishop of Canterbury : " I am become odious, says he, " to Guy de Lusignan, formerly king of Jerusalem, and to the grand master of the templars " for having maintained, and for still maintaining " the city of Tyre, against all the efforts of the " infidels. They attack my honour, they wound " my reputation ; they hinder succours from entering into the place, and, what is of a more " crying nature, the grand master of the templars " has seized the money that the king of England " sent me ; which obliges me to complain to you " with infinite concern. As for the hospitallers, I " must necessarily commend them, and I call God " and you to witness my sincere acknowledgements " to men, who, ever since they took arms for defence " of the place, have been continually rendering us very important services ; and far from " detaining, as the templars do, that part of the " king of England's money which they were to " furnish us, we assure you, they have spent above " eight thousand pieces of their own money in the " defence of Tyre ; and to prevent its falling into " the hands of the infidels, who, notwithstanding " their formidable power, were obliged shamefully " to raise the siege, &c."

Saladine, having given over that enterprize, turned his arms, with better success, against the principality of Antioch. He made himself master of twenty-five towns and castles, into which he put strong garrisons, that kept the capital in a manner blocked

blocked up. The governors and magistrates in general, for fear of death or plunder, went a great way to meet the conqueror, and receive their chains; all fell before so formidable a power, and the Christians had nothing left but Antioch, Tyre and Tripoli.

The count of Tripoli, the wretched instrument of the loss of the Holy Land, seeing his enemy dethroned, and become a fugitive and vagabond in his own dominions, summoned Saladine, pursuant to their treaty, to put him in possession of the crown, and deliver him the places of which he had facilitated the conquest by his flight at the battle of Tiberias: but the sultan despising the traitor, whose treason had been so useful to him, answered his pretensions only with the most cutting railleries. The count, enraged at his breach of promise, and seeing himself odious and execrable to both sides, fell into despair, his senses * began to fail him, he ran distracted, and died soon after, raving perpetually with resentment and rage. When they stripped him, in order to lay him out, they found that he had turned Mahometan †. The countess his widow, by whom he left no issue, seeing herself without any resource, applied to Raimond, prince of Antioch, for assistance, and delivered up Tripoli and its dependencies to him, as being the nearest of kin.

The numerous armies of Saladine, and the rapidity of his conquests, leaving the Latin Christians no hopes but from the princes of the west, they deputed William archbishop of Tyre, author of the history of the Holy Land, to go and implore their succour

* Ex doloris vehementia in amentiam versus, horrenda morte defecit. Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 432.

† Res dissimulare non potuit; nam corpore defuncti nudata, quis nuper circumcisionis stigma susceperat, apparuit; unde palam fuit quod se Salahadino confederans, sectam Sarracenicam ceperat observandum, postquam Tripolis urbis dominium filius principis Antiochiæ de jure obtinuit parentelæ. Nangis ibid.

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succour. That embassador went first into Italy, and gave Urban III. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, an account of the fatal event of the battle of Tiberias, and of the loss of Jerusalem.

All Europe was in a consternation at this dismal news, and the pope is said to have died of grief. Gregory VIII. his successor, who sat but two months in the holy see, appointed publick prayers and fasts upon the occasion. The people of Italy, in the height of astonishment and affliction, cried out, that they were unworthy of the name of Christians, and of ever having part in the kingdom of heaven, if they did not go to deliver the heritage of the son of God from the dominion of the infidels. A contemporary writer adds, that the cardinals made a resolution * to renounce all kind of diversions and pleasures, to receive no presents from any that had causes depending in the court of Rome, and never to mount a horse as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels; to be themselves the first in the crusade, to go to the holy war on foot, at the head of the pilgrims, and even to subsist by asking alms on the road. But there was a great deal more ostentation in these discourses than zeal and true piety. The cardinals staid at Rome; no alteration appeared in their conduct, and the embassy of the archbishop of Tyre would have had no better success than that of Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem; before mentioned, had not the emperor Frederick I. Philip II. king of France, and Henry II. king of England, generously entered into the crusade with most of the princes of Europe.

Pope Clement III. successor to Gregory VIII. for want of more substantial succours, named the

* Firmiter inter se promiserunt quod de cætera nulla munera recipiant ab aliquo qui causam habeat in curia; non ascendent in equum, quamdiu terra in qua pedes domini steterunt, fuerit sub pedibus inimici. Roger de Hoveden, p. 636.

archbishop of Tyre for legate of the holy see, and appointed cardinal Henry bishop of Albano for his colleague. These prelates prevailed with the kings of France and England, to meet at a conference held between Trie and Gisors, a

1188. place that belonged to the king of Eng-

July 15. land as Duke of Normandy. The arch-

bishop of Tyre, overflowing with grief, laboured to inspire into them the same zeal that he felt himself. He laid before that august assembly the groans of the holy city, that was again fallen under the tyranny of the infidels; the loss of so many Christians sacrificed to the fury of the barbarians; the captivity of some, the exile of others, and what was still more deplorable, the numbers of young children of both sexes that were born free, now made slaves, before they could be sensible of all their misery, and to be brought up in error after the infidels had prepossessed their minds, and imposed on their reason. He enlarged afterwards upon the various artifices and cruelties that these barbarians tried one after another to pervert such as were grown up; and he made so moving a description of the dismal condition the Latin Christians were reduced to, that melting into tears himself, he drew them likewise from all his auditory.

The two kings almost always at war with one another, were then ready to begin a new one; but upon this report of the miseries of the holy city, all was pacified, and their clashing interests united in the single view of delivering Palestine from the dominion of the infidels. Philip and Henry embraced one another, put on the cross, and promised to join their forces, and pass by concert into the east.

Several assemblies were held in their respective states, to raise the funds necessary for so great an armament; and they came to a resolution both in France

France and England, that such as would not take the cross upon them, should give at least the tenth of all their goods, moveable and immoveable, which occasioned this tax to be called the Saladine Tythe, because the main end in levying this money, was to defray the expences of the war, to be carried on against that prince. The orders of the Cisterians, Chartreux, Fontevrault, and the congregation of the Friar Lazars were exempt from this subsidy. Petrus Blesensis pretended, from their example, that the secular clergy ought not to be charged with it, and wrote upon that occasion to Henry de Dreux, bishop of Orleans, and cousin german to king Philip. "The prince, says he, "to him in his letter *, ought to exact nothing "from the bishops and clergy, but continual "prayers for the success of his arms; if the king "will needs engage in this enterprize, let him not "raise the expence out of the spoils of the church "and poor, but out of his own particular revenues, or the booty that he shall take from the "infidels, with which he ought to enrich the "church, and not plunder it, under pretence of "defending it. The church is free, says he, in "another place, in virtue of the liberty which "Christ has purchased for us; but if they load it "with exactions, this is to reduce it to a state of "servitude like Agar." We see here a gingle of words, the same that we have already spoken of; and that under the equivocal terms of the church and liberty, it looks as if the christian church was composed only of the clergy, or that the saviour of

* Reverendissime et dilectissime pater mi, tuæ discretioni committo religiosorum quietem, pacem simplicium, causam Christi, et ecclesiæ libertatem. Epist. 112.

† Si autem proposuit hujus peregrinationis iter arripere, non de spoliis ecclesiarum, non de sudoribus pauperum viaticum sibi et suis exhibeat, sed de redditibus propriis aut ex præda hostili bella Christi conficiat. Idem. Epist. 121.

mankind had delivered us from something else besides sin.

The eloquence of Peter Blesensis, which was ill employed on this occasion, did not hinder the raising of immense sums in France and England. Commissioners were appointed to collect the money, among which were an hospitaller and a templar, deputed by the two military orders, to solicit this armament, which they were to accompany themselves, and to serve for the principal guides to it *.

Richard I. who had just succeeded Henry II. his father, when he received his crown, took upon him that prince's engagements for the relief of the Holy Land. He levied an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, which he embarked, with the necessary ammunition and provisions, on board a prodigious number of vessels of different bulk. This embarkation was made at Dover, from whence he passed into Flanders, and thence into Normandy, where he held a meeting of the estates of the country. It is said, that during his stay in that province, a holy priest, named Fulk, incumbent of Neuilli, famous for his sermons, and a preacher of the crusade, after great encomiums on the English prince's zeal for the succour of the Holy Land, told him with a courageous liberty, that to engage the blessing of heaven upon his arms, he ought to part with three pernicious passions, which he called the three daughters of that prince, pride, avarice and luxury; and that the king of 1189.. England, the haughtiest man on earth, answered him bluntly, with a taunting recrimination, "I cannot dispose of my three daughters better, than by giving, as I do, the first to the templars, the second to the Cistercian monks,

* Colligatur autem pecunia illa in singulis parochiis, presenti presbytero parochie et archipresbytero et uno templario et uno hospitalario et serviente regis, et Clerico regis. Rog. de Hoveden. p. 641.

“ and the third to the bishops of my own dominions.” This prince soon after joined Philip Augustus at Vezelay, on the frontiers of Burgundy; and after passing the Rhone they took different roads. The king of France marched towards Genoa, where his fleet was waiting for him, and the king of England went to Marseilles, where he embarked; and the general rendezvous was at the port of Messina in Sicily.

Before the two kings set out, and whilst they were busy in raising troops and money in their dominions, the two legates passed into Germany, and came to Mentz, where the emperor Frederick I. called Barbarossa, was holding a general diet of the empire on the same subject. He was a prince eminent for his valour, and though advanced in years, yet he generously took the cross upon him, together with Frederic duke of Suabia his son. Sixty-eight princes or great lords of Germany, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, followed the example of their sovereign, and put on the cross; and in order to their march, the general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Ratisbonne, whether all that were engaged in the crusade had orders to repair on the twenty third of April the year ensuing.

The christian part of Spain had no share in this great armament of Europe. The kings of Castile, Arragon and Navarre, had their hands but too full in opposing the Moors and Saracens, who had seized as is well known, upon the finest provinces of that great monarchy. The queen of Arragon, sorely afflicted for the loss of the Holy Land, and acquainted with the dispersion and miseries of its inhabitants, resolved to found a monastery for the bodies of the order of St. John, the better to preserve the memory of so many illustrious knights of that order, as had lately perished in Palestine.

This princess, named Sancha, was daughter to Alphonfus king of Castile, and wife to another

Alphonfus the second of the name, called the chaste king of Arragon, son to Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and afterwards king of Arragon, whom we have spoken of before, on occasion of the treaty between that prince and the grand master Raimond Dupuy, touching the succession to the crown of Arragon.

Queen Sancha, his daughter, being married into a family that had long bore an affection to the order, espoused the same sentiments, and formed a design of founding a monastery of nuns hospitallers at Sixenne, a village situated between Saragossa and Lerida, and depending on the castellany of Emposta, a grand priory of the language of Arragon. The queen gave brother Garcia de Lisa, the then castellan, other considerable lands near Tarra-gona in exchange for it; and after communicating her project to Raimond Berenger, a knight and provisor of the order in Arragon, this pious princess laid the foundation of a palace rather than a convent; and as she considered, that this house might serve one day for a retreat to herself, and in future times to other princesses of the royal family, nothing was omitted with regard either to the magnificence and convenience of the buildings, or to the largeness of the inclosure about it, or in fine to the greatness and security of the revenues. This royal convent was founded for sixty ladies of noble birth, who were to be admitted without any portion; and such as were of the kingdom of Arragon or Catalonia, were to be of an extraction so illustrious and so publickly known, that they should have no need to produce their proofs.

We have observed, that historians do not tell us precisely to what part of Christendom the nuns hospitallers of the house of Jerusalem retired after the loss of that capital of Judæa. There is reason to think, that it was upon their account that this pious princess founded this famous convent in the year

year following, to serve them for a retreat and asylum; and we are the more inclined to embrace this opinion; because the priory of Sixenne was founded immediately after the loss of the holy city. But after all, as this is but a conjecture, founded merely on the agreement of the time, we shall only observe by the by, that this foundation was followed by many others of the same order, as well in Catalonia, as in Italy, France, and Portugal, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter.

The monastery of Sixenne became soon the most famous in the kingdom. The king, at the queen's instance, endowed it with large revenues; pope Celestine III. put these nuns, like the hospitallers, under the rule of St. Augustine, as may be seen in the bull of that sovereign pontiff, bearing date A. D. 1193. Their habit was a robe of scarlet or red cloth with a black mantle á bec, upon which was the white cross with eight points directly upon the heart; they had a particular breviary: they wore at church rochets of fine linen; and in memory of the queen their foundress they held a silver sceptre in their hands during the office and divine service.

The prioress presented to vacant benefices, and had even the privilege of giving the habit of obedience to such priests as served their church. She visits even now her lands with her dames assisting her, and is a member of the provincial chapters of the order in Arragon, has a voice and seat there after the Castellán of Emposta; and when the chapter of the order is held at Saragossa, the chapter of the cathedral send her canonical portion as bendaries of that church.

Queen Sancha, after the king her husband's death, retired into this monastery with one of the princesses her daughters, and it is said, that both of them embraced the monastick profession. As we

shall have occasion to mention this holy house again on occasion of the alterations that happened afterwards in the government of it, we shall only observe here, that all manner of christian virtues were practised there in an eminent degree; that these nuns hospitallers got up at midnight to sing praises to God; that their supplications and prayers were almost without intermission, and these holy virgins were continually lifting up their pure and innocent hands to heaven, to implore his blessing on the arms of the knights of St. John their brethren, and ask of God that he would be pleased to deliver holy Sion from under the slavery of the infidels.

This pious zeal, so general at that time, of contributing to recover the kingdom of Jerusalem, caused most of the nations of Europe to take up arms; and whilst the kings of France and England were making preparations for that glorious expedition, the most zealous, without staying for those princes, flocked from all quarters into Palestine.

We have seen above, that Guy de Lusignan, upon his escape out of the prison, finding himself a king without a kingdom, retired at first to a castle in the county of Tripoli, where he afterwards mustered together the broken remains of his fortune. Godfrey de Lusignan his brother brought him from the west a fresh body of troops of the crusade; various adventurers, Greeks, Latins and Syrians joined him, and there was formed in a short time a little army of seven or eight thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. This succour, weak as it was, gave him nevertheless some hopes of seeing a change in his fortune: and to secure himself a place of retreat, that should depend on no body but himself, he laid siege to St John d' Acre, a strong place, with an haven capable of receiving the vessels and succours of the princes of the west. The hospitallers and templars joined the
army:

army : there arrived likewise three private crusades, which advanced before the great armies that were expected out of Europe. The landgrave of Thuringia and duke of Gueldres commanded the first, which was entirely composed of Germans : there came another made up of the people of the north, Danes, Frieslanders and Flemings : there arrived too a third, at the head of which were two princes of the house of Dreux, and a considerable number of the greatest lords of the kingdom ; there came thither at the same time some Venetians, Lombards and Pisans ; and Conrad of the house of Montferrat, prince of Tyre, forgetting his disputes with Guy de Lusignan, would needs share in the perils and glory of the enterprize.

The Christians began the siege, and carried it on at first with all the courage and application imaginable. Saladine had put a strong garrison into the place commanded by Caracos, an old captain of great reputation, under whom Saladine himself, before he rose to that height of grandeur, made his first essay in arms. This general of the infidels made frequent sallies ; they were continually in action ; and we may say that these sallies were rather so many battles and engagements. Saladine on his side advanced with a formidable army to his succour ; the Christians went out of their lines to fight him ; Guy de Lusignan commanded the first body, composed of his own troops, of French, and the knights of St. John. The grand master of the templars was at the head of his knights, and the Germans, Frieslanders and other people of the north fought under his banner. The fight lasted a long time with equal animosity on both sides, and with doubtful success ; what appears most certain is, that the Christians, though they lost the grand master of the templars, and a great many knights of his order, yet returned victorious into their
lines,

lines, and Saladine could not force them to raise the siege, which was the only thing he aimed at.

That prince did nothing afterwards, but endeavour to intercept the Convoys of the Christian army. This occasioned a famine, which was soon followed with a contagious sickness. These two plagues destroyed more soldiers than the sword of the enemy. Guy de Lusignan saw four young princes his children taken off one after another, and Queen Sybille his wife to whom he owed the crown.

The death of that princess occasioned afterwards new divisions between the king her husband, and the prince of Tyre. The Queen of Jerusalem left only one sister named Isabel, who at eight years of age was married to Humfrèy de Thoron the third of the name. Conrad, * a prince young and handsome, full of courage and ambition, found the way to please that princess. There was no want of reasons to break off her contract with young Humfrey: the marriage being made against her will, perhaps in a prohibited degree as they pretended, furnished a pretext for it: it was at least in those times the common resource of discontented husbands. The princess's marriage was dissolved, and the bishop of Beauvais, without any regard to public decency, married her the next day to the prince of Tyre. In consequence of this alliance and the princess's right, Conrad took on him the title of king of Jerusalem; Guy de Lusignan on his side, maintained, that the character of royalty was never to be effaced, and that no body could in his lifetime assume the title of king in Palestine; and to make the division still greater, Humfrey de Thoron, Isabel's first husband, disputed the sentence by which his marriage was dissolved, and put in his claim to the crown. Thus this titular kingdom,

* Chron. de Nangis ad an. 1189.

this sovereignty without subjects, had in the same army, and at the same time, no less than three kings, and the queen had two husbands living: but as it was apprehended they might turn their arms against one another, they obliged them to refer the decision of their pretensions to the award of the kings of France and England, who were set out from their dominions, and as they had advice wintered in Sicily.

During the stay those two princes made in that island, Richard having heard much talk of Abbé Joachim, who passed with the people 1190. for a great prophet, sent for him to Messina, and consulted him about the success of the crusade. The Abbé, without any hesitation, told him, that the holy city would not be delivered till the seventh year after its being taken by Saladine. "To what purpose then, said the king of England, are we come so soon? Your coming, replied the Abbé, was very necessary, God will give you the victory over his enemies, and exalt your name above all the princes of the earth."

This pretended prophet bore a very doubtful character; some looked upon him as a saint, others took him for a cheat. It is probable the man meant well, and that there was more fanaticism than hypocrisy in his conduct; he was besides a good man, and of an austere life, but he had cracked his brain by meditations, or rather, by his dreams on the revelations. He bragged that he had the key of that mysterious book, and understood it as perfectly as St. John who wrote it. He took all his visions and imaginations for truths; and if by chance he succeeded sometimes in his predictions, he was mistaken much oftner; as it happened upon what he had declared about the deliverance of the Holy Land, as we shall see presently.

In the mean time the emperor Frederic, though seventy years of age, had advanced before these princes,



princes, setting out immediately after easter, A. D. 1189. This prince, truly worthy of that august title, after giving the law to the Greeks as he marched through their country, after defeating the sultan of Iconium or Cogni who disputed his passage, and having, in spite of all the efforts of the Mahometans, made his way into Cilicia, fell sick and died in that province, upon bathing in the river Cydnus, as some historians relate: though others pretend he was drowned in it. The military orders, and particularly that of the hospitallers lost in Frederic a powerful protector, that during the whole course of his reign had dispensed his benefactions and favours with great bounty to the order in general, as well as the particular members of it.

The duke of Swabia his son led his army on to the camp before Acre: but it arrived there much reduced and weakened by the fatigues of the road, by sickness and his own victories, which cost him abundance of men, and a great many officers of distinction. The Germans, at their arrival in the camp, found the army of the besiegers in no better a condition: the continual sallies of the infidels had much weakened it. The historian of this siege, who has left us a relation of it in verse, tells us a passage of the knights of St. John, who seeing the Turks in a sally take a great number of prisoners, these brave warriors, says he, like a bear about to be robbed of her whelps, got off their horses, flew into the midst of the enemies batta-

* *Hospitales milites ab equis descendunt,
Ut ursa pro filijs, cum Turcis contendunt,
Turci nostrum aggerem per vim bis conscendunt,
Hos sagittis sauciant, hos igne succendunt,
Et hospitalarii equos ascenderunt,
Et Turcos a latere maris invaserunt,
Quos ad urbis moenia per vim reduxerunt,
Et ex his in foveis multos occiderunt.*

Monachi Florentini, Iconensis episcopi, de recuperata Ptolimaide.

lions,

ions, cut part of them in pieces, rescued the prisoners, and then mounting on horseback again, pursued the infidels to the walls of the city. But if the Turks were worsted on this occasion, the change of air, the difficulty of being supplied with provisions, the continual combats they were engaged in, and the sickness that reigned, cost the Christians at least as many men, and particularly those of the west.

To make the misfortune still greater, the wounded soldiers of the Germans, whose language was not understood, laboured under great difficulties, not being able, in so melancholy a situation, to make either their ails or their wants known. Some German gentlemen of the towns of Bremen and Lubeck, that arrived by sea, moved with the misery of their countrymen, took the sails of their ship, and made a large tent in which they put immediately the wounded of their acquaintance, and attended them with great charity. † Forty persons of quality of the same nation joined themselves to them, and formed a sort of hospital in the camp. This noble and charitable society, like the knights of St. John and the templars, became insensibly a new hospital and military order.

Pope Celestine III. at the request of the emperor Henry VI. confirmed it afterwards in an authentic manner by his bull of February 23d, 1192. He prescribed these new knights for their rule, that of St. Augustine, and for their particular statutes, he appointed them those of the hospitallers of St. John, in what regarded the service of the poor and sick, and the statutes of the templars, in what related to military discipline. This new order, which was confined entirely to the German nation, was

† Petri de Dusburg, sacerdotis ordinis Teutonici, Chronit. Prussie, p. 13.

called

called the order of the teutonick knights of the house of St. Mary of Jerusalem.

This name was given them, because in the time that Jerusalem was in the hands of the Latin Christians, a German had, at his own expence, built an hospital and an oratory, dedicated to the holy virgin, for the sick of that nation. The habit of these new knights was a white mantle, charged with a black cross. They were obliged to the same three solemn vows with the hospitallers of St. John and the templars. Before they took the habit, they were to swear, that they were Germans of noble birth and extraction and bind themselves for their whole life to the service of the poor and sick, and the defence of the holy places.

This last part of their institution was common to all the three military orders, who were always the generous defenders of the Holy Land. Cardinal de Vitri, a contemporary historian, and even an eye-witness, speaking of the founding of these three orders, and applying to them what is said in the book of Ecclesiastes, that a threefold cord is not quickly broken, adds to the testimony he had given in behalf of the two first orders, that it pleased divine providence to raise up a third, which was not less serviceable to the preservation of the Holy Land. In fact, it may be said, that these three bodies were the principal strength of the army, as well for going out on detachments, as in repelling the sallies of the garrison: but as they were not duly seconded by those of the crusade, who were divided among themselves, and as there were no chiefs with full command in the army, nor any regular discipline observed, the siege advanced but slowly, and was even suspended in a manner by the differences that arose between Guy de Lusignan and young Conrad, in which the lords of the crusade embarked, every one according to his interest or inclination.

It was near two years that the siege of Acre had gone heavily on, and been spun out to a tedious length, when Philip II king of France, who had been detained till then at Messina, by some new disputes with the king of England, who would not marry his sister as he had engaged to do, parted abruptly from thence, and appeared at last off St. John d'Acre, with a numerous fleet. His new reinforcement, and the presence of the prince who commanded it, put new life, as we may say, into the whole army, composed as it was of different nations, whom their manners, language and interests, had divided. The siege now was carried on in another manner; the soldiers, as well as the officers, sought to signalize themselves before the eyes of so great a king. That prince ordered engines to be made, which demolished a pannel of the wall, and made a large breach: the whole army cried out with eagerness to be led to the assault. Philip, who every day expected the king of England, with whom he had taken the cross, would needs defer an enterprize, the success and glory of which were certain, in order to share them with his ally. But these considerations, generous to excess, made the christian army relapse into a state of inactivity; and the infidels making their use of it raised new fortifications within the place, which was in a posture of defence, at the king of England's arrival.

That prince was Richard I. who had lately succeeded his father, king Henry II. Queen Eleanor his mother had brought to him as far as Messina, Berengara infanta of Navarre, whom he was to marry. This princess and Jean of England, the king's sister, and widow of William II. king of Sicily, having expressed their desire of making the voyage of the east, Richard divided his fleet into two squadrons, and put the two princesses on board that which led the van. Both the squadrons met with a violent storm in the Archipelago. The king

of England made the isle of Rhodes, and the squadron of the two princesses came to an anchor on Good Friday, in sight of Limisso in Cyprus; several vessels that ran aground near that place were beat to pieces by the tempest. The sovereign, or rather the tyrant of the island, was by his mother's side of the imperial house of the Comneni: the emperor Emanuel had made him governour of the island of Cyprus; but this governour revolted, assumed the title of emperor, and under the weak reign of Isaac Angelus, continued absolute master of the isle. He was by accident upon the coast when the princesses' squadron appeared off it. That prince, perfidious and cruel in his nature, ordered the English ships that had run aground to be pillaged, and the soldiers and seamen that fell into his hands, to be laid in irons. He was even inhumane enough to refuse letting the ship in which the two princesses were on board, come into his ports during the storm. But the fair weather that followed, allowing the two English squadrons to join, Richard being refused the satisfaction he demanded for so barbarous a proceeding, forced his way on shore, seized on Limisso, cut in pieces the Greek prince's troops, pursued him without resting from place to place, took him prisoner at last, with the princess of Cyprus, his only daughter, and made himself master of the whole island, reaping as much satisfaction from the vengeance he took on the outrage offered the two princesses as from the conquest of a kingdom. Richard, after so glorious an expedition, which had cost him less time than a mere journey of pleasure, and before he left Cyprus, espoused the princess of Navarre. He set sail afterwards with his prisoner, whom he carried after him in irons, as a trophy of his victory: the miserable prince desired to be treated with more moderation, and put him in mind of his birth and dignity. The king of England, who despised him,

ordered, with a smile, that he should be put in chains of silver; and the Greek prince, who was as vain as he was cowardly, thought himself much relieved, and fancied them to be less weighty, because they were different from those of the other prisoners. Richard arriving at the christian camp, put him into the hands of the knights of St. John, who sent him to be kept in their fortress of Margat; and the two princesses, at the king of England's instance, kept the princess of Cyprus with them, who was suspected of having in her turn put chains of another nature on her conqueror.

As the isle of Cyprus was too remote from England to be annexed to that monarchy, Richard sold it to the templars, for the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Those military friars took possession of it, and, to secure their authority, threw a considerable body of their troops into it. But the harshness of their government, and the haughty ways of these templars, alienated the minds of their new subjects. Besides, the Cypriots, who followed the Greek rites, could not bring themselves to obey those Latin monks. This was the source, or at least the pretext of well nigh a continual war between the great men of that kingdom and the templars, who were obliged at last to abandon the island, and deliver it back to the king of England, as we shall observe hereafter.

That prince arrived at the christian camp on June 8th, A. D. 1191. I shall not enter into the detail of all that passed in this famous siege. The two kings distinguished themselves in it by an extraordinary valour; Richard especially, by a daring resolution, which carried him always into places of the greatest dangers, from whence he ever came off victorious. But there was a certain fierceness in his manner, that made him less agreeable. Saladin was noways behind him in point of courage; he had all the bravery and intrepidity of the

soldier, with all the skill of the officer, and was every day making new enterprizes against the Christians. The knights of the three orders exerted themselves in all places; the templars, on one of these occasions, lost their grand master, and the hospitallers of St. John, many of their knights; and the order would have been soon cut off in these continual combats, if the crusades, which from time to time arrived from Europe, had not supplied it with new recruits. A great number of young gentlemen, charmed with the extraordinary valour of the hospitallers, took the cross, at their arrival from the west, preferring at the same time the cross of the hospitallers before that of the templars, who seemed more proud and haughty than was suitable to the character of a religious society. All the world was for fighting under the banner of St. John; and those who did so, were as so many pupils and candidates, out of whom such were afterwards chosen for the religious profession, as gave the best proofs of their being sincerely called to it, and had distinguished themselves as much by their piety as their valour; two qualities, which it were to be wished the order would have as much regard to in the admission of knights at this time, as they have to the nobleness of their extraction.

We have observed, that the infidels, making their advantage of the leisure the king of France had allowed them, out of a compliment to his ally of England, had fortified the place anew, so that it was no longer liable to be carried by storm. They were forced to begin their attacks again, which cost them abundance of men: a dysentery too, which raged among the western troops, occasioned by their excessive eating of fruit, carried off a great number of soldiers.

The jealousy between the French and the English began to break out; and, to make the misfortune still worse, the old divisions between Guy de Lusignan

nan and Conrad of Montferrat were revived. The king of France declared for the latter; the king of England for Lusignan; the-princes and nobility, after their example, divided into parties; and as there was always a secret emulation subsisting between the two military orders, the hospitallers declaring themselves in favour of the king of Jerusalem, was a sufficient reason to engage the templars to quit his party, and embrace that of the prince of Tyre.

So general a misunderstanding making them less concerned about the success of the siege, the bishops that were in the camp omitted nothing to conciliate these fatal divisions. Several conferences were held on this subject; at last it was agreed, that Lusignan should keep the title of king of Jerusalem during his life, but that the prince of Tyre should be acknowledged in right of his wife indefeasible heir of the crown. The two pretenders consented to these conditions; but Conrad reaped no advantage from this agreement. That prince having refused to do the seignior of the mountain justice, in relation to a ship that the Tyrians had taken from him, was afterwards stabbed by two assassins, who, in the midst of the most horrible tortures, and whilst they flayed them alive, gloried in their having executed the barbarous orders of their cruel master.

Peace being thus restored in the army, they resumed the care of the siege with new vigour. The attacks were in a manner continual, and the two kings, out of a noble emulation, pushed the work so briskly on their respective sides, that there was soon a sufficient breach to mount and give the assault. The infidels, after an incredible resistance, seeing the outworks of the place taken, their towers ruined, a considerable breach made, and the bravest knights of the christian army ready to mount it, demanded a capitulation. Hostages were given on both sides; the town was surrendered, the garrison

son, consisting of five thousand men, with the governor, yielded themselves prisoners, on condition of being released upon their causing the true cross and the christian slaves that were in Saladine's hands to be restored, or otherways, or being left to the discretion of the conqueror. The Christian

1191. took possession of Acre on July 13th, and made it afterwards their place of arms.

They assigned different quarters for the several bodies and nations that had contributed to reduce it, and were able to defend and maintain it: the hospitaliers of St. John transferred thither their principal residence, which, since the loss of Jerusalem had been settled at Margat. It was in Acre

1192. that their grand master Ermengard, in the year following ended an illustrious life, which he had so often exposed against the infidels, and in defence of the Christians.

The hospitaliers, in a full chapter, chose brother

Godfrey de Duissou, an old knight

GODFREY DE DUISSON. for his successor. It was none of this new grand master's fault, that

1192. the taking of Acre was not followed with the conquest of Jerusalem,

the main design of the crusade; but jealousy of state, diversity of interests, emulation and animosity, raised such divisions among these different nations, that all the effect of this mighty armament was the taking of a single place. The crusade being composed chiefly of volunteers, they quitted the army, and filed off by degrees, after a siege that had lasted near three years. Philip king of France was obliged to leave Palestine, and change the air as the only remedy to recover him out of a violent distemper, which was not without suspicion of poison, and made his hair and nails fall off. But at his going away, he left in the christian army, a body of five hundred men of arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of the duke of Burgundy

dy. The principal chiefs of different nations were going off from time to time, abandoning the Holy Land for a prey to the infidels. Richard king of England, before his departure, took Jaffa and Ascalon, and made afterwards a truce with the Barbarians for three years, three months, and three weeks; and, if we may believe the historians of that age, they added, for greater exactness, three days and three hours. It is said, that Richard, before his departure, caused Guy de Lusignan to marry the princess of Cyprus, and made over to him the sovereignty of that isle, which the templars had resigned back to him, and which the princes of the house of Lusignan possessed afterwards for near three hundred years. Henry count of Champagne, nephew to the king of England, and entirely attached to his interests, married at the same time Isabella, widow of Conrad. and by that marriage obtained a right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which he was in hopes to clear of the Sarazens.

These hopes were raised still higher by the death of Saladine, which happened at Damascus, on March 13th, 1193. That infidel prince, one of the greatest captains of his age, thought, upon the retreat of the Christians, to enjoy the fruit of his victories in triumph; but death stripped him of all at once. When he felt himself near his end, he ordered the officer that carried his standard in battle to put in its stead a piece of cloth designed for his winding sheet, and carrying it through the streets, to cry aloud, "See here all that the great Saladine, conqueror of the east, carries off with him, of all his conquests and treasures." They say, that before he expired, he distributed considerable sums to all the poor of Damascus, without distinction of Mahometan, Jew, or Christian, whether he was persuaded, that charity, or at least bare humanity, should be extended indifferently to all

all that are in misery ; or else, perhaps, though he had professed Mahometanism all his life, yet he might, in his last moments, be in doubt which of the three religions was the best and true one. At the same time, he divided his dominions between his eleven sons. who, after his death, thought of nothing but ruining one another. But Safadine, the brother of Saladine, and companion of his victories, made his advantage of these divisions, attacked his nephews, one after another, made away all of them that fell into his hands, and raised at last an empire to himself, very little inferior to that of Saladine's. These divisions, and other civil wars that broke out afterwards between the children of Saladine, gave the Latin Christians time to breathe.

Pope Celestine III. to supply them with succours, published a new crusade, contrary to the truce concluded by the king of England, which was still subsisting ; and it is even said, that they received an express order from the pope, not to pay any regard to it. A great number of German barons put on the cross, came to Messina, and from thence passed into the Holy Land. Waleran, brother to the duke of Limburgh, having broke the truce by some hostilities, Safadine, provoked at this infraction, laid siege to Jaffa, carried it by storm, and put above twenty thousand Christians to the sword. The Christians in Palestine seemed to be on the brink of ruin, if the civil war between the infidels had not afterwards obliged Safadine to renew the truce for six years. The count of Champagne, after this treaty, returned to Acre, where looking out of a window upon the troops as they passed in review, the bar that he leaned on failing, he fell into the castle ditch, and was killed.

The grand master of the hospitallers, considering that so small a state as the kingdom of Jerusalem, encompassed as it was with formidable ene-

mies, could never support itself without a king, proposed, some time after that prince's death, to the queen his widow, to marry Amaury de Lusignan, who had just before, upon the death of Guy his brother, succeeded to the crown of Cyprus. He represented to her, that her state being surrounded with powerful enemies, she might draw considerable succours from that isle in the neighbourhood of Palestine, and besides, Cyprus might serve her for an honourable retreat, if by misfortune the infidels should compleat the conquest of her own territories. The queen readily approved a proposition, in which she found at the same time her own interest and that of the state. The grand master undertook the negotiation, and managed it with such conduct, that, without exposing the queen, he brought the king of Cyprus to court her alliance. Nothing more was wanting to put the finishing hand to this great affair, but his presence. He was by no means at a loss for pretences to go to Acre; he saw the queen; was well received by her; and after they had, for form sake, communicated their design to the grandees of the state, they were married by the patriarch, and afterwards solemnly proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

Humphrey de Thoron, this princess's first husband, could not, without uneasiness, see her dispose successively of her person and crown to so many princes, who perhaps had less right to them than he. But as right, without power to support it, is little regarded in the case of sovereigns, this unfortunate lord found nobody concerned at his misfortune: he was forced, for his own safety, to say nothing of his pretensions, and like a divinity without a temple, he remained without any worship or adorers.

The grand master, who had acted so great a part in the queen's last marriage, did not long survive

vive the rejoicings which attended that ceremony; he died almost at the same time; and we have scarce any account left us of his government. The ignorance, in which people of quality were brought up at that time, has deprived us of the knowledge of a great number of facts, that might have embellished this history; but in those first ages of the order, the knights made much more use of their sword than their pen; I cannot say indeed whether most of them could read. This at least is certain, that either for want of capacity, or out of modesty, we have not one knight for above four hundred years, that has vouchsafed to give us an account of so many remarkable events, as are with difficulty traced out in national histories, and collections of treaties and public instruments.

The end of the SECOND BOOK.

B O O K III.

IT is hard to say, whether it be the great distance of the times, or the negligence of the first historians, that we are to charge with our ignorance of the house and extraction of the first grand masters, and particularly of the successor of Duiffon, This successor, in the ancient chronicles, **ALPHONSUS OF PORTUGAL.** is called brother Alponfus of Portugal. The common opinion is, that he was descended from the prince of that nation; but they do not tell us what branch he came of; only they agree, that it was of an illegitimate line. Some modern authors pretend, that his name was Peter, and that he was son to Alphonfus I. king of Portugal. However this be, all writers that

have mentioned him, represent him as a person of distinguished valour and piety, equally exact in the regular and military discipline, a scrupulous observer of the statutes, but naturally proud and haughty; and it soon appeared, after his promotion to the grand mastership, that the orders he gave in relation to the government of the society, had a tincture of his own rough disposition.

Scarce was he acknowledged as grand master, when having his mind filled with notions of a perfection hardly practicable among warriors, and out of a view of reforming the abuses that had crept into it, he called a general chapter in the town of Margat, whither the order had, after the loss of Jerusalem, transferred its residence. To cover his main design the better, he set himself at first only to rectify a certain abuse which often confounded the secular gentry with the professed knights. Those gentlemen, upon their return into the west, and in their provinces, affected to wear the cross of St. John of Jerusalem. To understand rightly this particular fact, it must be observed, that such gentlemen as engaged themselves in the crusades or in pilgrimages, when they arrived in Palestine, served as volunteers under the banner of the order. There were some likeways that sent their children young into Palestine, to be bred up in the house of St. John, under the discipline of the Knights as the best school to form them in the art of war.

Both the one and the other, as long as they staid in the Holy Land, and fought under the standard of the order, were allowed to wear the cross; but they, abusing this indulgence, on their return into Europe, so as to found a claim of right upon it, the grand master, to prevent their being confounded with the professed knights, procured a statute to be passed in the chapter, that they should be considered only as auxiliary troops, and not be allowed

ed to wear the cross, but only when they were fighting against the infidels under the banner of the order.

From this particular article of reformation, the grand master proceeded to others that concerned chiefly the knights professed; and to get them received the more easily, he began with his own house and equipage, which he reduced to a majordomo, a chaplain, two knights, three esquires, a turcopolier and a page. To each of the several officers of his household, he left only one horse to carry them. With regard to his person, he reserved only two led horses and a mule, an equipage indeed exceeding modest, but not very suitable to the governor of a great military order, who was every day at the head of an army.

From this particular regulation he assumed a right of reforming all the knights in general; after upbraiding them with what he called their luxury and effeminacy, he proposed several regulations; their diet, habit and equipages, all passed under a severe examination, and a rigid reform. It cannot be denied, but the grand master's intentions were very good; his design was to revive the discipline established by Raimond Dupuy, which had been much relaxed since that time. It is reported, that hearing some mutterings in the assembly, he asked them, if they were more nice than their predecessors, and if they had not made the same vows in the most solemn manner before the altar? In vain did they represent to him the difference of the times, and that the way of life which he proposed was incompatible with the duties of a continual war, and with the obligation they were under, since the loss of Jerusalem, of being every day either on horseback or in the trenches. This only served to make him raise his voice, and tell them, with a tone and air of arbitrary command, I will be obeyed, and I'll hear no reply. The whole

assembly at these words broke out into loud complaints, and an old knight told him the chapter was not used to hear their superiors speak as sovereigns.

Passion and animosity soon entered into these warm disputes, which were carried on so far, that the knights by concert, with an obstinacy not to be justified, refused to observe the regulations he proposed. The grand master on his side, though only descended from a royal house by a by-blow, yet to prove as it were his legitimacy, affected all the state and haughtiness of the throne. Neither side caring to make any abatement, it came at last to an open revolt. The order fell into a sort of anarchy; and the grand master, finding he was to expect no more obedience from his knights, abdicated his dignity, and retired to Portugal. He was yet more unhappy there, and died at last in the civil wars that he engaged in. This we learn from several historians, though they are not agreed either as to his own name, or that of the prince from whom he derived his being.

The order, after his abdication, chose for his successor brother Geoffroy le Rat, of the language of France, a venerable GEOFFROY old man, good natured, courteous, LE RAT. and no way forward; qualities which recommended him to the suffrages of his brother knights. There happened almost at the same time a new revolution, in the principality of the lesser Armenia, the consequences of which he prevented by his good conduct and management. We have observed, that two brothers, the most considerable of the nobility of that nation, the one called Rupin of the mountain, and the younger Livron or Leon, had, after the death of the renegado Melier, seized that little kingdom. Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and now count of Tripoli, pushed on by a boundless ambition, and in hopes of enlarg-

ing his own dominions at the expence of his neighbours, had prevailed with the prince of Armenia to come to Antioch, under pretence of a conference, and to enter into measures with him against the infidels, their common enemies, and had caused him to be arrested there. Livron some time after turned his own artifice against him; and under pretence of treating for his brother's liberty, came to the rendezvous better attended than Bohemund, cut his retinue and convoy in pieces, took and carried him to a strong place, where he kept him prisoner, and would not at first hearken to any negotiation of peace.

Each nation took arms in favour of their prince. The infidels, their neighbours, would not have failed making their advantage of a war, so prejudicial to the Christians; but the patriarch and grand master, who saw the fatal consequences of this difference, interposed to make it up. Livron would not at first hearken to any proposal, either because governing the kingdom during his brother's captivity, he did not care to part with the sovereign authority, or perhaps, as the event shewed, because he designed to draw greater advantages from the treaty. However it was, he would not consent to the exchanging of the two prisoners, but upon condition that the principality of Antioch should for the future hold of that of Armenia, and that, as the pledge of a sincere reconciliation between the two houses, the eldest son of the prince of Antioch should, before his father was set at liberty, marry Alice, the only daughter of Rupin, and that the issue of that marriage should be declared, after their father, presumptive heirs of the principality of Antioch, but without any pretensions to that of Armenia, till after the death of Livron himself. Hard as these conditions were, Bohemund, impatient of recovering his liberty, ratified them all and, after a consummation of the marriage, the

two captive princes were released. He of Antioch returning into his own territories, to make provision for prince Raimond his second son, gave him the county of Tripoli; and after the death of his eldest, in prejudice of the children which that young prince had left of his marriage with the princess of Armenia, he resolved likewise to have him acknowledged for his successor in the principality, which occasioned great disputes, as we shall hereafter shew.

In virtue of the truce which was still subsisting with Safadine, and the other successors of Saladine; the Christians of Palestine, and the two military orders, which were all the defence they had, enjoyed a little rest: both of them owed this transient quiet to a dreadful famine which then afflicted Egypt. That great kingdom, as is 1196. well known, owes all its fertility to the regular inundations of the Nile, which, spreading its waters over the surface of the earth, leaves behind it a slime mixed with nitre, that fattens the ground, and produces plenty in all the provinces through which it flows. This inundation had failed the former year, as we learn from a letter of the grand master of the hospitallers to the prior of England, of the same order. We see there, that the miserable Egyptians were reduced to the extremity of browsing like beasts on grass, that fathers were not ashamed to sell their children for a livelihood, and that all Egypt was like a large charnel house, but with this difference, that the dead lay there exposed without burial, and served for food to ravenous animals.

Palestine, adjoining to Egypt, and supplied from thence with most of its corn, suffered by this general famine; it is the subject of the grand master's letter to the prior of England. He adds, that the Italian war, occasioned by the rebellion of the towns of Lombardy against the emperor, was another

ther scourge that afflicted the order ; that the grand priory of Barletto in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, from whence the order and convent used to receive considerable supplies, particularly in corn, furnished them almost nothing, by reason of the wars between the popes and emperors, “ We are forced, adds the grand master, to buy every thing at an exorbitant price, as well for the subsistence of our knights, as for the troops which are in the pay of the order, which has obliged us to contract considerable debts, greater than we can pay, without the supply we expect from our brethren of the west.” He concludes with exhorting him to solicit the king of England to send troops into the east, while the Egyptians were still labouring under the miseries of that calamitous state to which they were reduced, and at so favourable a juncture as the conclusion of the truce, now just ready to expire, when they might hope, if an army should arrive from Europe, to make a second conquest of the Holy Land, and re-enter gloriously into Jerusalem.

I do not pretend to determine, whether the expence the order of St. John was at in maintaining constantly a standing body of troops, or a spirit of interest, which is but too ordinary in communities induced the grand master to deliver himself in this language : but certain it is, that James de Vitri, then bishop of Acre, and afterwards Cardinal, a contemporary historian, that lived himself upon the spot, affirms *, that in his time the hospitallers and templars were as powerful as sovereign princes;

* *Amplis autem possessionibus tam citra mare quam ultra ditari sunt in immensum, villas, civitates, et oppida exemplo fratrum hospitalii Sancti Joannis possidentes, ex quibus certam pecuniæ summam pro defensione Terræ Sanctæ, summo eorum magistro, cujus sedes principalis erat in Jerusalem, mittunt annuatim: pari modo summo et principali magistro hospitalis Sancti Joannis, procuratores domorum, quos præceptores nominant, certam pecuniæ, summam singulis annis transmittunt.* Jac. de Vuriaco hist. Hier. p. 1284.

that

that they possessed principalities, cities, towns and villages, both in Asia and Europe, and that in provinces which lay at a distance from Palestine, and the head seat of the order, they had their procurators, knights who were stiled præceptors, and were very diligent in improving their estates, the revenue of which they remitted afterwards to the treasury of each order.

If we may believe Matthew Paris, another contemporary historian, the hospitallers were at that time in possession within the bounds of Christendom, of no less than nineteen thousand manors *, a term which the glossaries explain differently, with regard to the different countries wherein they are situated;—but, generally speaking, by the term, manor or manse, is meant as much land as a plough with two oxen can till in a day. And the same English historian informs us, that at same time only nine thousand manors belonged to the templars; hence arose that secret jealousy between the two orders, which flamed out afterwards, and put them on every slight pretence upon taking arms, and making open war upon one another.

There was at that time in Palestine a gentleman, named Robert de Margat, who, as a vassal of the hospitallers, was in quiet possession of a castle seated near that of Margat, and holding of it. The templars, under colour of some old pretensions, surprized the place, and made themselves masters of it by open force. This gentleman, thus driven out of his home with all his family, complained to the hospitallers his lords, who, after the loss of Jerusalem; resided, as we have already observed, at Margat. These knights, transported with cou-

* Habent insuper templarii in christianitate novem millia maneriarum; hospitalii vero novemdecem, præter emolumenta et varios proventus, ex fraternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes, et per privilegia sua accrescentes. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1244 in Henry III. l. 2. p. 615.

rage, and misled by a false nicety of honour, sallied out immediately with a body of troops, clap ladders to the castle, scale the wall, sword in hand, carry the place, and drive out the templars in their turn. This private affair soon turned to a general quarrel between the two orders, and the hospitallers were never met afterwards without being attacked. Their friends too interested themselves in the quarrel, and most of the Latins were divided. A civil war was kindling insensibly in a state where there was no sovereign of authority sufficient to repress the enterprizes of two parties so powerful and so exasperated. The patriarch and the Latin bishops were the only persons that interposed to put an end to dissensions, of which the infidels would not fail to make their advantage. Out of regard to them, the two orders agreed to a suspension of arms, and referred, as most christian princes did at that time, the decision of their differences to the pope.

Cardinal Lothair, of the house of the counts of Segni, scarce thirty-seven years of age, 1198. had just succeeded pope Celestine III. in the chair of St. Peter. He was a prelate of irreproachable life and conversation, learned for the time he lived in, a great lawyer, but unluckily too much prepossessed in favour of the false decretals, which he made the rule of his conduct, though all of them spurious writings, ascribed to the popes of the three first centuries, and forged in the middle of the ninth by a notorious falsifier called Isidore, who, by publishing these supposititious acts, gave a terrible blow to the ancient discipline of the church, particularly in the point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the rights of bishops. And though these false decretals are now a days as much cried down as they deserve to be, and the most zealous partizans of the court of Rome are forced to give them up; yet all that they do, is to disparage the author, without troubling themselves to repair the mischief

mischiefs that he did in some ages of ignorance. Innocent was very well qualified to remedy this disorder, had he been but master of as much critical learning and penetration, as he had zeal and passion for the administration of justice.

It was before this sovereign pontiff that the affair of the two military orders was brought. The hospitallers on that occasion deputed to Rome brother d'Isigni prior of Harletto, and brother Auger præceptor of another house in Italy. The templars sent thither on their part brother Peter de Villeplane, and brother Thierry. Innocent having examined into the pretensions of both sides, ordered, by a preliminary sentence, before he would pronounce upon the merits of the cause, that the hospitallers should deliver back to the templars the castle they had taken from them; and that after the templars had resided there quietly for the space of a month, the gentleman who was the former proprietor of the castle should have liberty to cite them before the judges at Margate, to produce their title, and the evidence of their claim; but that the hospitallers, to avoid all suspicion of partiality in their own magistrates and judges, should on this occasion have recourse to those of the principality of Antioch, or the county of Tripoli; that the order of St. John should make choice of persons of integrity; that this choice notwithstanding, the templars should be allowed to except against, and challenge any of these foreign magistrates that they suspected; but what, if they refused to submit to the verdict which should be afterwards brought in, the hospitallers should be empowered to put their vassal again in possession of his castle.

We have a letter of this pope to the grand master and the whole order of the hospitallers, wherein he represents to them, with much force and persuasiveness, how unsuitable their proceeding and that of the templars was to the character of religious,

gious, if, says Innocent, we may give the name of religious to men, who are for deciding their rights by force and methods of violence. He adds, that though he knew well enough in the main, what party had right and justice on its side, yet he had chosen rather to make up the affair by an amicable composition, which the deputies of the two orders had agreed to in his presence, than to pronounce a rigorous judgment, which would have fixed a slur upon the party which had done the wrong. He goes on exhorting them both to maintain unity and peace with one another, and at the same time enjoins them, in virtue of their holy obedience, and on pain of excommunication, to determine the differences that should start up between them, in the manner directed by the rules which pope Alexander III. prescribed them. Innocent concludes his letter with threatening such as should prove refractory with all the weight of his indignation.

Some foreign judges, according to his direction, took cognisance of this affair; the pretensions of the templars were declared groundless; the gentleman, who was vassal to the hospitallers, was again, put into possession of his castle; peace and quietness were restored between the two orders, at least in appearance, and the pope, satisfied with their submission, wrote afterwards to both, recommending to them the interests of the king of Cyprus.

We have already taken notice, that after the death of Guy de Lusignan, prince Amaury his brother inherited his crown; and that this prince having afterwards married Isabel queen of Jerusalem, she had prevailed with him to fix his residence in Palestine, in a state surrounded on all sides by the infidels. But Amaury having advice, that the isle of Cyprus was scarce in a quieter condition; that the inhabitants being of the Greek church could not bring themselves to obey a Latin prince, and that the emperor was tampering with them underhand

derhand by his emissaries, to gain them over to a re-union with the Greek empire; this king of Cyprus wrote to the pope, to lay before him the necessity he was under of returning immediately into his island, to secure his authority there.

Innocent was afraid, lest upon this prince's retreat, the hospitallers and templars, seeing no longer any body above them in dignity, 1198. should both pretend to the government of the state; to prevent therefore a competition, that must necessarily have very terrible consequences, he conjured the king, in the most pressing terms, not to abandon what was still left of the inheritance of Jesus Christ for a prey to the infidels and barbarians. But at the same time, to obviate the disturbances that might be raised in the isle of Cyprus in his absence, the pope wrote to the prince of Antioch, to the count of Tripoli his son, and to the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, recommending to them, to take care of the king's concerns, and, if necessity so required, to send into the island a body of forces, sufficient to maintain the royal authority there. " Amaury, says the pontiff in his letters, having been pleased to leave his own dominions, and the delicious abode of the isle of Cyprus, to dedicate himself to the defence of the Holy Land, it is but just, that the christian princes, his neighbours, should interest themselves in the preservation of his crown."

History gives us no account of what these princes did upon this occasion; nor does it appear, that the templars, who were odious to the Cypriots, and had been forced to give up the sovereign authority they had over them, sent any succours into the island. But we learn, from the ancient memoirs of the hospitallers, that the king in concert with the grand master, chose out of them some knights, whom he intrusted with the government of that kingdom, and who passed over thither with a body of

of troops, capable of preventing and crushing the ill designs of the malecontents.

There happened shortly after, a surprizing revolution in the empire, and at Constantinople, which drew likewise a great number of hospitallers to that capital. For the better understanding so extraordinary an event, it must be observed, that the spirit of crusading, notwithstanding such a series of ill success as we have mentioned, still reigned in France. By the persuasion and moving discourses of the minister of Neuilli, an infinite number of princes, lords and gentlemen, put on the cross under the command of the marquis of Montferrat, an excellent general, and brother to the prince of the same name, who made that noble defence against Saladin at the siege of Tyre. The difficulty was, how to get this new army of the crusade into the Levant.

Experience had shewn, that the way by land through the territories of the Greek and Mahometan princes, was equally difficult and dangerous. To avoid this inconvenience, the principal lords of the crusade sent deputies to Henry Dandolo, duke or doge of Venice, proposing to him, in consideration of a sum of money to be agreed on, and paid before hand, to furnish ships for transporting their army to St John d'Acre. They entered into a negotiation upon this subject and agreed at last, by a solemn treaty, that in consideration of eighty five thousand marks of silver, the republick should be obliged to transport four thousand knights or esquires, and twenty thousand foot into Syria, with their arms, and all the necessary provisions and ammunition. The Venetians acquitted themselves of all the conditions of this treaty. and furnished even a much greater number of vessels and ships than they were obliged to, that they might not look like mere passengers in this voyage; and to have some share in the merit of the crusade, they fitted out,
at

their own expence, fifty galleys, with good land
rees on board; and the doge, though fourscore
years old, and decayed in his sight, was to mount
as admiral, and make the voyage as one of the
usade.

There was nothing now that hindered those
French princes and noblemen from setting sail but
want of money; but it happens frequently, through
accidents not to be foreseen, that it is not so easy to
execute a treaty as to sign it. A great many of the
French, to avoid paying their quota of the contri-
bution agreed on, had, instead of going to Venice,
embarked at Marseilles and different ports of Italy;
so that the princes and noblemen who came at the
head of the army to Venice, after selling their plate,
gold chains and rings, could raise only fifty thou-
sand marks of silver; and for want of the thirty
five thousand remaining, the treaty was in danger
of breaking off, and this holy design of miscarry-
ing, when the zeal, magnanimity and ability of the
doge provided for all difficulties, and brought on
the affair again.

When we see the conduct of this illustrious doge
in the relation of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, * it
is hard to determine which ought most to be ad-
mired, either his profound sagacity in council, or
his wonderful skill and contrivance in managing the
tempers of men. Attentive always to the interest
of his country, and still more to his own glory, he
proposed, for the advancement of both, and in
concert with the great council of the republick, to
discharge the crusade of the thirty five thousand
marks remaining, upon condition, that after their
embarkation, and before they left the European
coasts, they would, by the way, assist him in reduc-
ing the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which was part
of the old demesne of the republick, but had some

time before, out of a turbulent humour, revolted to Bela king of Hungary. Part of the gentlemen of the crusade, and especially the pope's legates, with some priests and monks, put scruples into the soldiery, as if it was unlawful to employ against Christians the arms which were designed against the infidels. But as it was impossible to go without the Venetian fleet, as the sedition and revolt of the inhabitants of Zara was a dangerous precedent, and moreover, as the princes of the crusade might be useful to obtain reasonable conditions for them, the doge's proposal was accepted. They set sail, and after a favourable voyage, landed in 1202. Dalmatia, and invested Zara. The place Nov. 10. did not hold out long against so considerable an army; the inhabitants opened their gates to their old masters; but this diversion having spent the season proper for their passage into Palestine, they were obliged to winter in Dalmatia.

Upon the approach of spring, the army of the crusade was preparing to re-embark, when there arrived ambassadors from Alexis Comnenus, whose sister Irene was married to Philip duke of Suabia, and emperor elect of Germany. The Greek prince sent these deputies to solicit the princes, as they had employed their arms in favour of the Venetians, to make the like enterprize for restoring his father, the emperor Isaac Angelus, to the throne of Constantinople, another Alexis, brother to that emperor, having deprived him of his crown, and keeping him shut up in a dungeon; a new incident that requires a fuller explanation.

We have observed in several places of this work, and it is plain from the original historians, that the ambition and treachery of most of the Greek princes had made the throne of Constantinople a scene of the most bloody tragedies. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, that perfidious prince, who, in concert with the infidels, procured the destruction of

the emperor Conrad the third's army, dying after a reign of considerable length, left the empire to his son, a young prince hardly thirteen years old, contracted to Anne or Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII. king of France. But after a reign of three months, if we may give that name to the government of so young a prince, who was himself governed by prince Andrōnicus his uncle or cousin, the traiterous Andronicus caused him to be strangled, and seized the empire.

Isaac Angelus, of the same house of the Comneni, but only by the female side. 1195. under pretence of revenging the young emperor's death, surprized the tyrant, got him into his power, and after putting him to death, with the most cruel tortures, set up himself for emperor. He had reigned already near ten years, when his brother Alexis, whom he had ransomed out of captivity among the infidels, formed a dangerous conspiracy against him, seized his person, and deprived him at once of his sight and crown. Young Alexis, Isaac's son, made his escape, and, to secure himself against his uncle's cruelty, took refuge at the court of the emperor Philip of Swabia. Philip, busy in opposing Otho of Saxony, his competitor for the empire, was not in a condition to give young Alexis any considerable succour: but these two princes, hearing with what facility the princes of the crusade had reduced Zara for the Venetians, flattered themselves, that it was not impossible to engage them, in their behalf, to turn their arms against the usurper. With this view, whilst the Christian army was still in Dalmatia, young Alexis sent embassadors to implore their assistance against a tyrant and a traitor, who had dethroned his own brother, and kept him loaded with irons, and buried as it were in a dungeon. These motives, of such a nature as could not but move the generosity of the princes of the crusade, were seconded by offers of considerable sums; and young Alexis promised,

mised, after the emperor his father's restoration, to put on the cross, and join the Christian army with ten thousand men.

The French and Venetian nobility, of 1202. which that army was composed, reflecting that the last crusades of Europe had miscarried only through the perfidiousness of the Greek princes, and that so long as they could not be assured of Constantinople, and of the streight which joins Europe in a manner with Asia, it would be almost impracticable to transport the chiefs of the crusade into Palestine, and maintain them there, entered into a negotiation with the ambassadors. The doge, intrusted with the common interests of both nations, managed it with his usual capacity, and after several conferences, came to an agreement with the ministers of the Greek prince, that in case the princes of the crusade * restored the emperor Isaac to his throne, the father and son should pay the Latins two hundred thousand merks of silver for the charge of the war; that young Alexis should join their army in person, and march with them into the east; or else, if the interest of the emperor his father detained him at Constantinople, they should send a reinforcement of ten thousand men of their best troops, with a year's pay advanced; and that in order to secure the conquests which they hoped to gain either in Egypt or Palestine, they should always maintain a standing body of five hundred horse there at their expense. The princes, out of a religious motive, and to engage the pope, the primum mobile of the crusades, to allow of this diversion, insisted likewise, that the ambassadors should oblige themselves, by this treaty in their master's name, in case God blessed the arms of the crusade with success, to exert their authority, and use all their endeavours to put an

* Nangis ad An. 1203.

end to the schism, and bring the Greek church under subjection to that of Rome. The ambassadors having no other resource, subscribed to every thing, and returned into Germany, from whence prince Alexis set out immediately, and came with the utmost expedition to Dalmatia, and upon his arrival, ratified the treaty made by his ambassadors with the princes of the crusade.

These Latin adventurers, if we may give that name to the princes and noblemen that composed this little army, finding their own private interest as well as that of religion in this treaty, set sail with a favourable wind, and, landing in the territories of the Greek emperor, advanced up to the walls of Constantinople. Six thousand French, and about eight thousand Venetians, in a foreign land, and an enemy's country, without provisions, or any other succour but their courage and their arms undertook the siege of the capital of a great empire, in which it is said, there were not fewer than two hundred thousand men armed for its defence. The soldiers of the crusade made several attacks both by sea and land; all the leaders did 1203. wonders; and particularly the illustrious doge of Venice, then above eighty years of age; and though his sight was almost gone, he put himself at the head of his troops, where, by his example still more than by his words, he animated his men, gave the proper orders, and commanded in the action. The Greeks on the other hand lined the wall with archers and soldiers, who, with showers of arrows, stones and fire-works, repulsed the besiegers, and there was no appearance that a handful of Latins could carry a place defended by an innumerable multitude of people. But the usurper*, stung with the remorse of his conscience, and still more uneasy with the fear of being delivered up

* Alexis III.

by some secret enemies to the lords of the crusade, fled away by night in a bark with his family and treasures, and his flight made the soldiers and inhabitants drop their arms, and open their gates to the Latins; the self-same day a tyrant deserting his own army, and become a fugitive, the lawful prince delivered out of prison and re-established on the throne, and the courtiers with the principal citizens applauding a success which the evening before they had opposed with all their forces. The first care of the old emperor was to make prince Alexis his son partner with him in the empire. This ceremony was performed on August 1. 1203. The chiefs of the crusade attended him afterwards into most of the provinces of the empire, where they established his authority. But they were ill recompensed for it: Alexis seeing himself quiet on the throne, put off, under various pretences, paying the sums he was obliged to by the treaty. His wiles were his ruin. The Greeks, afraid of being made subject to the church of Rome, hated him, and the breach of his word rendered him odious to those of the crusade.

A prince of the family of Ducas, called Murzuphle, because of his thick eye brows which
 1204. met together, formed a design to dethrone him: he got by base compliances, and a continued series of flattery, the ascendant over his mind: he governed the empire absolutely, and at the same time that he persuaded the prince not to comply with the demands of the Latins, his emissaries gave out, that the emperor detained them at the gates of Constantinople. only to force the inhabitants to acknowledge the pope's authority. The people hereupon mutiny, run to arms, and cry, that Alexis ought to be deposed. The emperor Isaac his father, worn out with years, died at that time of grief, to see his misfortunes break out afresh: Alexis in confusion applies to his benefactors, and
 conjures

conjures them to send some of their troops into the city for his security. The marquis of Montferrat, forgetting his ingratitude, promised to come to his relief; and it was agreed, that one of the gates of the city should be kept open for him the night following. The perfidious Murzulphle gives private notice of it to the mutineers; this news encreases the uproar; the whole city take up arms, and resolve to elect a new emperor. Murzulphle, the silent ringleader of the revolt, mistrusting the inconstancy of the people, to make a trial of the danger, caused a young man of great birth but no interest to be chosen emperor. His name was Nicholas Canabe. The false Murzulphle, seeing all the people out of aversion to his nephew, running in to put the crown upon his idol, secretly secures the person of that phantom of an emperor, and goes at night to the palace, awakens the prince, and advises him to withdraw from the fury of a mutinous populace, that were in quest of him, as he said, to put him to death. The young emperor abandons himself to his perfidious advice, follows him; and Murzulphle, under pretence of concealing him, carries him into a lonesome part of the palace, where the unhappy prince, as soon as he entered, was seized and put in irons. The usurper strips him of his buskins wrought with eagles, and the other marks of the imperial dignity, puts them on himself, and, attended with his relations and accomplices, presents himself to the people, exhorts them to break off all correspondence with the Latins, and proposes to make a war upon them. This discourse, which flattered the animosity of the unruly multitude, is received with great applause. They proclaim him emperor on the spot: and not to let the zeal of the people cool, he gets himself crowned. History does not tell us what became of poor Canabe, who disappeared at once, and was never heard of afterwards. As to the emperor Alexis,

whose life gave him great uneasiness, he twice together caused poison to be mixed with that prince's food; but the poison not working quick enough, this barbarous wretch, impatient to be rid of him, went into the dungeon where he was shut up, and strangled him with his own hands.

How just an indignation soever the lords of the crusade had again young Alexis, yet they lamented his unhappy fate, and resolved to revenge his death. War was proclaimed against the tyrant, who made preparations to carry it on, and put the inhabitants in arms. The troops of the crusade laid siege to the place a second time; they brought the same courage to the enterprize; and, without amusing themselves with the ordinary forms of war, they attempted a scalado; and after a combat, which lasted almost the whole day, they seized upon some towers, where they fortified themselves during the night. They were resolved to carry on the attack at break of day, but were agreeably surprized by some of the inhabitants, who informed them that the usurper was fled. In the morning they renewed their attack, when the weak resistance they met with, and the terrible disorder and confusion the city was in, made them soon sensible that the surprising news was true. The French and Venetians enter Constantinople sword in hand, break into the palace and houses of the principal nobility, and commit all those disorders, which are the ordinary effects of the fury and greediness of the soldiery.

The next business was to elect an emperor. The chiefs of the crusade referred the choice to twelve electors, six of them French, and six Venetians; and it was agreed, that whatever nation the emperor was of, the patriarch should be taken out of the other. If the doge had been a competitor for the empire, it is certain he would have had the best interest. But that wise prince, considering that the imperial dignity in a Venetian would be the ruin

of

of a republick government, renounced it both for himself and his nation; so that there was nothing more to do, but to make a good choice among the French, and other nations that composed the army. Most of the votes seemed determined in favour of the marquis of Montferrat; and indeed it looked as if they could not without injustice refuse that dignity to a prince, whom they had chosen already out of so many others, to be their own general, and who, by his valour and conduct, had made them masters of Constantinople. But the politick doge, dreading his great qualities, and afraid of seeing the empire united to the dominions which that prince was already possessed of in Italy, determined most of the electors in favour of Baldwin count of Flanders, from whom there was no such danger to be apprehended. That prince was crowned with great solemnity in the church of St. Sophia. Thomas Morosini was chosen patriarch of Constantinople; and the marquis of Montferrat had afterwards for his share the kingdom of Thessalonica, and the Venetians most of the islands of the Archipelago.

Baldwin could not be ignorant of the aversion which his new subjects had to the government of a prince subject to the church of Rome. To remove this prejudice, and bring them to an uniformity of belief, so necessary to the tranquillity of a state, he procured from Pope Innocent * some clergy and monks, remarkable for their learning and virtue, who used their endeavours to put an end to the schism, and unite the two churches. He invited at the same time the hospitallers of St. John into his dominions, gave them considerable estates in the provinces which held of the empire, and restored them the possession of the two houses which they had in Constantinople, till the usurper An-

* See the epistles of Innocent III. Books 13. 14. 15. and 16.

dronicus drove them thence. Geoffrev de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne and Romania tells us in his history, that Matthieu de Montmorency, one of the chief leaders of the crusade, dying in this famous expedition, was buried at Constantinople in the church of St. John of the hospital of Jerusalem †.

There was not a christian prince within either Asia or Europe, but would have some hospitaller in his dominions. Magnificent hospitals and churches were at that time built for them at Florence, Pisa and Verona. Besides these foundations for the knights, the hospital nuns of the same order had some considerable houses in those three cities, in which these pious sisters made piety, charity, and all christian virtues flourish. We must not omit to mention here the blessed sister Ubaldina, whose memory is held in singular veneration at Pisa, and over all the order. This holy nun was born about the middle of the twelfth century, at the castle of Calcinaya, in the county of Pisa. As soon as she was of age to chuse for herself, she took the habit, and professed herself in the house of St. John de Pise. Nature formed her generous and beneficent; grace rendered her charitable: she was the mother of the poor; the sick met with a relief always at hand in her assiduous care; there was no kind of misery but she brought a remedy for it, or gave consolation under it: and when her duties allowed her some moments to herself, she spent them before the cross, and in a continual meditation upon the death and passion of our divine Saviour.

† Lors lor avint une mult grant mesaventure en l'ost que Mathieu de Montmorency qui ere un des meillors chevalier del royaume de France, et des plus prisiez et des plus amez fû mors, et ec fû grant diels et grant domages, un des greignors qui avint en l'ost, d'un seul home, et fû enterrez en une yglise de Monseignor St. Jehan de l'hôpital de Jerusalem. Villehardouin, p. 80.

That she might be worthy to partake of the benefits of that great mystery, she crucified her body with surprising austerities. From the time of her profession she never left off her hair-cloth, a board served for her bed, her fastings were continual, her food bread and water, with a few roots: she was particularly industrious in her penances; she sought eagerly after all occasions of practising some secret mortification; had she a taste, a bias, a natural inclination or aversion for any thing, as soon as she perceived it, all was sacrificed; she was, as we may say, a continual martyr; and if her sex and profession did not allow her to bear a share with the knights her brethren in the torments to which they were exposed, when they fell into the hands of the infidels, it may be said, that by the pious cruelties wherewith she mortified her body, she was their companion in sufferings, and the cross which she wore outwardly, was not so much an ornament as a mark and character of that which she had so deeply engraved in her heart. Having lived in a continual exercise of these virtues, the blessed Ubaldina died about A. D. 1206. 1206. The authors of her life mention several miracles which it pleased God to work by her intercession; but the first and greatest of all was a lively faith, an unbounded charity, a spirit of mortification, and that combination of virtues of which, for the honour of the order of St. John, it may be said, there were at that time very eminent examples.

We have seen above, that the grand master, at the request of Amaury de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and at the pope's recommendation, had sent a body of knights into that island, to keep the subjects thereof in the obedience they owed their sovereign. That prince, king of Cyprus, and king likewise of Jerusalem in right of Queen Isabel his wife, died this year without any issue by her; and the

the queen outliving him but a few days, the two crowns, which by their marriage had been united upon their heads, were divided again by their death

Mary, the eldest daughter of queen Isabel, and Conrad of Montferrat, prince of Tyre, her second husband, was acknowledged heiress of the crown of Jerusalem; and Hugh de Lusignan, son to Amaury, by his first wife, succeeded the king his father in the crown of Cyprus. This young prince married the princess Alice, half sister to Mary, by the mother's side, and daughter of Isabel and Henry count of Champagne her third husband. The Christians of Palestine, finding themselves destitute of a sovereign, who was as necessary to keep the great lords of the kingdom in their duty, as he was to oppose the arms of the infidels, sent the bishop of Acre, and Aimar, lord of Cæsarea in right of his wife, as their deputies to king Philip Augustus, to desire him to recommend a husband to them, for the young queen of Jerusalem, that would be capable of defending her dominions.

The king named them John de Brienne: a young nobleman full of valour, wise, capable of governing a state, and of commanding an army, such a one indeed as the pressing occasions of the Holy Land, and a tottering throne required. The young count, not considering the vast number of enemies wherewith that little kingdom was encompassed, suffered himself to be dazzled with the empty title of king, and the circumstance of owing it entirely to his own merit and reputation. He received the king's proposal with all due acknowledgements, and having taken such measures as he thought necessary with the ambassadors of Palestine, he sent them away before him, charging them to assure the queen and grandees of the kingdom, that he would come to Acre with a formidable army, and
in

in a condition, after the truce was expired, to begin the war again with success.

The ambassadors, returning into the east, gave out, that the count de Brienne would arrive immediately at the head of a powerful crusade, composed of the most warlike nations of Europe, and commanded most of them by their own sovereigns. They even named the princes who had put on the cross, the number of their troops, and the fleets they were to put to sea. The noise of this armament, which they were magnifying continually, as it commonly happens in speaking of things at a distance, and such as flatter our hopes, raised the courage of the Christians, and alarmed the infidels. Safadine proposed to the council of regency to prolong the truce, offering in that case to restore them ten such towns or castles as lay most for the convenience of the Christians.

The grand master of the hospitallers, who, by the knowledge he had of the affairs of Europe, did not see that any such mighty succours could be sent, as the ambassadors gave them hopes of, was of opinion, that they should make their advantage of the fear of the infidels, and accept the truce they had proposed. The master of the Teutonic order, and most of the lords and barons of the country were of the same sentiments; but the grand master of the templars and the prelates opposed it, though, says Sanut *, the advice of the grand master of the hospitallers was certainly best. The very proposing of it indeed by the hospitallers was a sufficient reason to make the templars contradict it. This grand master of the hospitallers died about A. D. 1206. The histori-

* *Magistri quoque hospitalis et Alamannorum cunctique barones treugas prolongare vellent; magister tamen templi, ac prelati, licet esset utilius, minime assenserunt.* Mar. Sanut. c. 3. p. 206.

ans of that time do not acquaint us with his extraction; but there is in Touraine a very ancient and noble family of the name of Kat, from which, in all probability, this grand master was descended.

The order chose in his place brother **GUERIN DE MONTAIGU**, a French man by nation, and of the language of Auvergne, who, in a short time after his election, did considerable service to the Greek Christians of Armenia Minor.

Pope Innocent III. writing to the bishops of France, represents to them, in one of his letters, the miserable state of the Latin Christians of the east, according to the advices he had received from those parts. The sovereign pontiff adds *, that, to make the misfortune still greater, Raimond count of Tripoli, second son to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and Leo king of Armenia, contested for the succession of that principality, even before the sovereign's death; that the inhabitants of Antioch, supported by the templars, had declared themselves for the count, and the hospitallers had taken the king's part; that the infidels too had engaged in the quarrel to make their advantage of it; that the sultan of Aleppo was raising forces in favour of the count of Tripoli; that Dennequin, another Turkish prince, was leading a considerable succour to the king of Armenia; and, what is more deplorable, continues the pontiff, Safadine, sultan of Egypt and Damascus, the mightiest of all the infidels, has levied numerous armies, without declaring as yet in favour of any party, and, in all appearance, with a view to make his advantage of all events, and to raise his empire on the ruin of both.

We have observed already, that of the marriage

* Ep. 271. vide Ep. 370. ejusdem. quæ extat apud. Rog. Hov. fol. 454. edit. Lond. an. 1598.

contrasted between young Bohemund, eldest son of the prince of Antioch, and Alice, daughter to Rupin of the mountain, there was issue a son, named also Rupin, who, after the death of young Bohemund his father, pursuant to the treaty of peace made with Leo king of Armenia, his great uncle, had been declared by old Bohemund his grandfather presumptive heir of his dominions. But Raimond count of Tripoli, second son to old Bohemund, pretended, that such declaration ought not to take place, and that the right of succession, immediately after the prince his father's death belonged to him, and not to his nephew: these were the pretensions of the two contending parties.

The king of Armenia, though brought up in the schism, seeing his dominions surrounded by those of the Latin princes, pretended to reconcile himself to the catholick church. He had wrote several times to the pope, to declare, that he acknowledged his authority, and had likewise obliged his patriarch, whom the Armenians call the Catholick, to take the like step. But to speak the truth, this union was only temporary, and the pretended submission of the Armenians lasted no longer than they had need of the protection of the holy see.

Livron renewed his protestations at this juncture, and at the same time made pressing instances to Innocent, intreating him to require the templars to make no more opposition to the rights of his nephew, but to conform themselves to the conduct of the hospitallers, who, said he, after being convinced of the justice of young Rupin's claim, had declared in his favour. This prince, in another letter, desires the pope to interpose his authority, that this great affair might be determined in an amicable manner, and begs, that he would be pleased, to take upon himself the nomination of impartial judges; amongst which, he particularly recom-

mends to him the grand master of the hospital-
lers.

Whilst this difference was in agitation at the court of Rome, Soliman de Roveniden 1209. sultan of Iconium, of the race of the Selgeucidian Turcomans, entered Armenia, at the instance of the count of Tripoli, and destroyed all before him with fire and sword. Leo gave immediate advice of it to the pope; and that pontiff, at his request, engaged the hospitallers to undertake the defence of his dominions. The grand master de Montaigu drew a strong body into the field and joined him; upon which they marched against the sultan, and after several engagements, and a bloody and obstinate battle, the Turcoman prince was defeated, his army cut in pieces, and those that escaped from the sword of the conquerors, had great difficulty to get back into Bithynia, with the sultan who commanded them.

The Armenian prince, either out of gratitude, or to engage the hospitallers still more closely in his interests, granted them in property the town of Saleph, with the fortresses of Chateaneuf and Camard. He sent the deed of this grant to Pope Innocent III. who confirmed it by his bull, bearing date in the thirteenth year of his pontificate. The sovereign pontiff prevailed afterwards with the count of Tripoli, to agree to a truce with the king of Armenia, and ordered the two legates that he kept in the east, to force the refractory side to it by all spiritual methods, and to make use likewise of the assistance and arms of the hospitallers, to maintain peace in that part of Christendom. Prince Rupin, nephew to Livron, two years after made the like application to Pope Honorius III. to obtain the assistance of the hospitallers, as may be seen in the brief of that pope. This was not the first time that the popes had made use of the arms of the hospitallers in the east, against princes that

did

did not think themselves bound by the thunders of the Vatecan.

Those pontiffs employed them no less serviceably at the same time against the Moors and Saracens of Spain, and Mahomet Enacer Miramoulin, king of Morocco, having entered Castile, at the head of a formidable army, brother Guttiere d'Ermegilde, prior of the hospitallers of Castile, upon the orders he received from Rome and from the grand master, came to offer his service to King Alphonsus VIII. at the head of a large number of knights, and of the vassals of the order.

Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, speaking of these knights in his history : the military brothers the hospitallers, says that prelate *, inflamed with zeal, took up arms in this country, to maintain our holy religion, and drive the infidels out of Spain.

A famous French hospitaller, called brother Guerin, minister of State to Philip Augustus, and general of his army, rendered at the same time services every way as important to the church, and to his country. He was brought up in this kingdom, in a dangerous heresy, which, under pretence of a higher spiritual perfection, undermined the foundations of religion. A clergyman of the diocess of Chartres, named Amaury, a subtle logician, was the author of it. At least Rigord, a contemporary historian, affirms, that the disciples of this doctor maintained publicly, that as the laws of the old testament, given, as they said, by the eternal father, had been abolished by the gospel and the new law of Jesus Christ, so this was to be suppressed in its turn by the law of charity, which was the work of the Holy Ghost ; that under this law of

* *Fratres etiam militiæ hospitalis, qui fraternitatis caritati insistentes devotè, zelo fidei, et Terræ Sanctæ necessitate accensi, defensionis gladium assumpserunt. Hi sub uno priore Gutierio Ermegildi, &c. Roderic, Toletanus, t. 2. l. 8. c. 3. p. 130. de rebus Hispanicis.*

pure love, the use of the sacraments was as unnecessary as that of the legal ceremonies of the old law. He added, that paradise and hell had no existence but in the imagination of men; that the pleasure of doing good works was the true paradise, and that sin and ignorance made all our hell. He required nothing of his followers, for the whole practice of religion, but only the love of God, the flame of which, he said, was capable of purifying even adultery itself.

These errors, being spread abroad by men of parts and eloquence, perverted great numbers of persons, and particularly many women, who are always fond of novelty. Brother Guerin * of the order of the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who, in the reigns of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. his son, had a great share in the government, employed his pains and authority to stop the progress of this new sect. He was one of the most learned men of his age, and at the same time the greatest officer of his nation; and it was not easy to determine, whether, in the management of the state, his valour, or his piety and wisdom had the ascendant. During a vacancy of the dignity of chancellor, the king had appointed him to do the functions of it. The chancery being vacant, says

* Hault consors aviez ou bon vesque Garin,
 Par D.eu et par son sens eustes moult d'amis,
 Proudom fu, et l'Ajax sçachié certainement,
 Bien le sceut votre peres qui l'ama durement,
 Moult fu de haut conseil et de tous biens fu plains.
 Et ere bien entechies de loyal cuer certains,
 Puis le tens Charlemaine, qui fu un Arcevesques,
 Qu'en apela, Turpin, ne fu si bon Evêques
 Voluntiers effaçoit l'onor de sainte Eglise,
 Sire, et les vos droitz gardoit il sans taintise.
 Muult l' ama li bons Rois qui Felipes ot non
 Et apres votre peres qui Dex face pardon,
 Et la bon Roine l'amoit et tenoit chier,
 Qu'en votre cort n' avoit nul meillor Conseiller.
Fei.ville, p. 165. in the Sermon of Robert de Saincte.iaux.

the

the historian of that time *, this wise minister took care to have the principal leaders of these fanaticks punished ; there were several that acknowledged their errors, and the most obstinate went to join themselves to the Albigenſes, a ſort of Manichees, who admitted two principles, a good and an evil one, to which they aſcribed all the actions of men. They were called Albigenſes, from the town of Albi in Languedoc, moſt of the inhabitants of which were infected with this heresy. The pope, to extirpate them the ſhortest way, cauſed a new cruſade to be preached up againſt them, annexing the ſame indulgences to it as were granted for the war of the Holy Land, requiring from ſuch as engaged in it only forty days ſervice.

This eaſy way of getting indulgences, drew an infinite number of the cruſade into Languedoc, and deprived the Chriſtians of the Holy Land of their ſuccour ; which was the cauſe why John de Brienne, at his ſetting out for Jeruſalem, could not poſſibly get together above three hundred knights, inſtead of thoſe mighty armies, that were to insure him an eaſy entrance into Paleſtine. They were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee him land at the port of Acre, with ſo ſmall a company, ſufficient indeed for the retinue of a king, but contemptible in regard to the hopes that had been given them, and to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

Nevertheless that lord, after marrying the young queen, took the field, to ſignalize his acceſſion to the crown by ſome action worthy of his courage. He ravaged at firſt all the frontiers of the enemy, and took ſome caſtles of ſmall conſequence, but ſeveral bodies of Sarazens advancing to beſet him, he was obliged to retire ; and thought it advantage

* Rigordus de Geſtis Philippi Auguſti Franc. Regis, p. 208. anno 1209.

enough, to have made his escape from such mighty enemies.

He wrote immediately to the pope, to give him an account in what condition he found the Holy Land; and added, that what they called the kingdom of Jerusalem, consisted only in two or three places, which they could maintain no longer than the civil wars lasted between the brother and sons of Saladine, and that unless a new crusade was sent into Palestine, he should soon be a king without a kingdom or subjects.

Innocent was sensibly affected with this sad news. That pontiff, like most of his predecessors, besides the zeal which made him intent upon the recovery of the Holy Land, interested himself particularly in these wars, whereof the popes were regarded as the heads, and wherein their legates pretended to command with an authority superior to the generals, and even the princes that engaged in these pious expeditions; a new sort of sovereignty, unknown in former ages, which, under pretence of opposing the invasions of infidels, subjected vast armies of Christians to the pope's orders, and in many instances when sovereigns were at the head of them.

The pope, full of these great views, and designing to succour the new king of Jerusalem, was thoroughly persuaded, that nothing but a new crusade could bring those numerous armies into the field, that were the terror of the barbarians. To raise therefore troops in most of the dominions in Christendom, he resolved, after the example of Urban-II. the first author of the crusades, to call a general council: and besides the bulls for that purpose, he caused public notice to be given of it by a great number of ecclesiasticks and religious, who spread themselves over all Europe, and in their sermons, cried up the merit of such voyages, and exaggerated perhaps a little too much the general indulgences which were annexed to them. But the execution

execution of this pious design, was suspended by a formidable alliance made against 1210. France, in which a great number of the sovereigns of Christendom were engaged. These princes made preparations of war on all sides, and when troops were every where in motion, the pope saw it was by no means proper to require any bishops to take a journey; and the rather, because when they should be met together, they could not propose at such a time to draw any succour from France and Germany, the surest resources of all the crusades.

Otho IV. emperor of Germany, was at the head of this league against France; and among his allies were John king of England, the Counts of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne and Salisbury, natural brother to the King of England, Henry duke of Brabant, Frederic duke of Lorrain, Thibault count of Luxemburgh, and Philip de Courtenay, Marquis of Namur, son of Peter de Courtenay count of Auxerre. It may perhaps be surprising to see, among the enemies of France, the duke of Brabant, who was the king's son-in-law, the Count of Bar his subject, whose son too was in the French service, Ferrand de Portugal a vassal of the crown, to whom the king had given the heiress of Flanders in marriage, and the marquis of Namur; a prince of the royal blood; nor could these princes be well excused from the crime of defection and rebellion, if it was not known that some of them held their principal territories under the empire; that they were feudataries of it, and that, if they had not joined the emperor's army, that prince, who had invaded the Low Countries with an army of an hundred thousand men, would have begun with stripping them of their great fiefs. Hence it is, that the Count of Bar, though a vassal of the crown, to preserve the county of Luxemburgh, was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to furnish his quota of troops

troops to the emperor, and lead them in person to the imperial camp.

The principal chiefs of this alliance were so persuaded, that the king could not resist them, that they had beforehand divided his dominions amongst them, and dismembered the finest provinces of this great kingdom from the body of the monarchy.

The emperor indeed had reserved the sovereignty in chief, and the supreme demesne of the crown to himself; but the King of England claimed for his share all the provinces about the Loire; Renaud de Damartin count of Boulogne, a secret enemy to the king, and the warmest promoter of the league, had set his heart on the Vermandois and the neighbouring provinces, which lay convenient for him, and the Count of Flanders was promised Paris, the isle of France, and that part of Picardy which adjoins to Paris.

This was, as we may say, to fell the bear's skin before he was killed; these princes had to do with an enemy not easy to be beaten. Philip II. king of

France, so justly stiled Augustus by posterity, without being daunted at the number

and force of his enemies, advanced towards Peronne, at the head of forty thousand men, most of them well disciplined troops, besides thirty five thousand militia, drawn out of the neighbouring provinces, which formed a large body of infantry. Most of the princes and barons of the kingdom attended the king; the gentry were summoned, all the gentlemen flew to the succour of their country, and no other knights were as yet known, but such as had acquired that glorious title by their valour, and had distinguished themselves by uncommon bravery in the field.

The king of France, at the head of this brave gentry, thought himself invincible; and though he had little more than sixty thousand men in his army, he resolved to carry the war into the enemy's coun-

try:

try; he left Peronne the twenty-third of July, fell into Flanders, and encamped near Tournay. The emperor on the other hand advanced as far as Mortagne, which is but three leagues distant from it, and intrenched himself there. Besides above two hundred thousand men that he had in his army, he was posted too advantageously to be forced in his camp.

The king, to draw him out of his intrenchments, made a motion towards Hainault. The emperor taking this march for a flight, and fearing that in his retreat he should ravage the province of one of his allies, marched the same way, and arrived in the plain of Bouvines, on Sunday July 27. The king was come thither only some hours before him; and, as he thought of nothing but penetrating into Hainault, his vanguard had already passed a bridge that he had laid over the Marque, when he was advertised by his scouts, that the allies were advancing in order of battle, i. e. with standards displayed, their horses barded, and the serjeants, a sort of dragoons attached to the service of the men of arms, ordered to dismount, and marching a foot before them. The king immediately dispatched the hospitaller Guerin, who acted as marshal de bataille, to take a view of the enemy. The long experience he had acquired in the wars of the east, and the laurels he had gathered in a series of engagements with the infidels, made him fill that honourable post, without the least jealousy or envy from the greatest lords of the kingdom.

History has not transmitted to us either his surname, or that of his family. It is certain, that as he was an hospitaller of St. John, he must have been of noble extraction: this is all we can say on that head. His piety and learning had occasioned his being elected bishop of Senlis; but he was not yet consecrated, and we are going to see on this occasion new proofs of his capacity in the art of war.

Rigord,

Rigord, a contemporary historian, who was in the king's retinue, speaking of this knight, "He was," says he, a very brave officer, of admirable conduct, of a steady judgement, and so great penetration, that he saw into all events that could happen." Le Breton, another contemporary historian, adds, "That he had the entire affection and confidence of the king his master, and was the first person in the kingdom after him." Yet, says Rigord, "though this illustrious knight shone with all the lustre that royal favour could give him, he never would, in the height of his authority, quit the habit of his order, which he wore always under his armour." Such was this famous hospitaller, who did so much honour to his nation and his order. The king, who depended entirely on him for the conduct of the army, having ordered him, as we have just said, to go and view the enemy, he took Adam viscount de Melun, one of the bravest noblemen in the kingdom, along with him; and, putting himself at the head of a body of horse, he advanced to a rising ground, from whence he discovered the march and disposition of the army of the allies, and leaving the viscount in that post, with orders to amuse the enemy without engaging, he returned in all haste to the king, and told him, that he was much mistaken, if he was not going to be attacked by the emperor.

Philip immediately called a council of war. It was there debated, whether the troops should continue to pass the river, or whether the vanguard that had crossed it, should not be ordered to march back again, and give battle to the enemy. Most of the general officers were of opinion, that they should avoid an engagement that day, because it was an old custom of the nation, never to fight on a Sunday; they said, the French had always made a scruple of shedding blood on that holy day; besides, the soldiers were fatigued with a long march, and

and the allies being so much superior in troops, it was proper to wait the coming up of the gentry, who were on their march to join the army; and therefore they ought to make all the troops pass to the other side; that the river would serve for a barrier, and the enemy would not hazard passing it in sight of so strong an army as the king's.

The hospitaller Guerin, who, from his long experience in the art of war, judged that they could hardly avoid an engagement, told them, that they debated about a matter which was not in their power; that the enemy was too near, and, if they continued passing the whole army over the river, they would expose their rear and hindermost troops to be cut in pieces. Nevertheless, as he was almost the only person of this opinion, and the emperor's troops had at that very moment made a motion, as if they would march towards Tournay, it was resolved, by a majority of voices to pass over the river; but the emperor's army wheeling about, and falling at once upon the body commanded by the Viscount de Melun, fully justified the soundness of Guerin's judgement. The king saw plainly, there was no avoiding an engagement; so the van was immediately ordered to repass the river, and the knight, who acted as marshal de bataille, drew up the forces in order of battle, assigning every troop their proper post. Superior in capacity to the enemy's generals, he contrived to get the sun in his back, which darting in the enemy's eyes, afforded him the same advantage, especially in the heat of the dog-days, as Hannibal had against the Romans at the battle of Cannæ. The monk Rigord, the king's chaplain and physician, who in this battle kept always near his master's person, says, "That he saw the
 " hospitaller Guerin, after having ranged the ar-
 " my in battalia, ride among the ranks, pass along
 " the squadrons and battalions, and exhort every
 " one to fight bravely for the defence of their king
 " and

“ and country.” He adds, “ That this illustrious
 “ knight, after the signal of battle was given, on
 “ account of his election to the bishoprick of Sen-
 “ lis, would not engage among the combatants,
 “ but contented himself with giving his orders,
 “ and directing the different brigades of the army
 “ to be led on at the time there was occasion for
 “ them.”

There was scarce ever a battle in France disputed for so long a time; all closed in together, and fought with equal fury; the king performed prodigies of valour; six score French gentlemen were killed by his side; and he himself had like to have been lost; he received a stroke of a lance in his throat; his horse was slain under him, himself trampled under the horses feet; two single gentlemen, Montigny and Tristan, to save their master, made him a rampart with their bodies, and sustained all the efforts of the enemy; the king leaps upon Tristan's horse; and putting himself at the head of a body of his gentry that had just come to his succour, charges the enemy afresh, and breaks through a squadron of Germans that made head against him; nothing is able to stand against the fury of the French, who, before the eyes of their prince, and breathing vengeance for the danger he had run, make a terrible slaughter. They push on; they pierce even to the person of the emperor, who was in the centre of that squadron. De Trie gives him a thrust with his lance, which makes his cuirass useless; Mauvoisin seizes the bridle of his horse, and the young count of Bar, whose father as count Luxemburg, was in the army of allies, seizes the emperor by the neck: Desbarres seneschal of Anjou coming up, takes him by the middle to pull him off his horse; all of them ambitious of the honour of taking an emperor prisoner: but the Germans coming up in shoals to his succour, drive off the French, open him a way to retreat; and that

that prince mounting a fresh horse, still stunned with the danger he had been in, without any regard to his glory, betakes himself to flight. The king seeing him gallop off, could not help saying with a smile, to the lords about him, "My friends, you'll see nothing more of him to day but his back."

The emperor, by his flight, carried off most of the troops; those whom their courage still kept in the field, and who resolved to dispute a victory already lost, were cut in pieces. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Salisbury, 1214. the count of Hainault, an hospitaller of St. John, Hugh Manges president of the emperor's council, and thirty lords bannerets, were taken prisoners. Otho, despised by the Germans, abdicated afterwards the empire. The king of England, odious to his subjects, passed the rest of his days in a civil war; and the victory of Bovines, so exceeding glorious to Philip, restored peace and tranquillity over all Europe.

The pope, to improve the present calm, and engage the princes of the west in a common league against the infidels, called a general council at Rome, in the church of Lateran. This was the twelfth œcumenical one, and the fourth of Lateran. There were present at it four 1215. hundred and twelve bishops, including two patriarchs*, and seventy one primates or metropolitans. There came thither embassadors from Frederic II. king of Sicily, emperor elect of Germany, from Henry emperor of Constantinople, from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus and Arragon. The pope opened the council with a very moving discourse, concerning the loss of the Holy Land, and the obligations that all Christians were under of endeavouring to deliver it from the yoke of the infidels: "That

* Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1213.

“ land, say he, which was watered with the blood
 “ of our divine Saviour, is prophaned, and the
 “ place where the Son of God was adored, is be-
 “ come a temple of the devil, what a scandal and
 “ reproach is it, that the son of Hagar should keep
 “ the mother of all the faithful in bondage? We
 “ must break her chains, my dearest brethren. I
 “ am ready to put myself at your head: I give up
 “ myself entirely to your disposal; ready, if you
 “ think it proper, to go myself to kings, princes
 “ and people *, to try if I can, by the force of my
 “ cries, engage them to take arms, and revenge
 “ the injuries done to the Saviour of mankind,
 “ who is now chased out of the land which he pur-
 “ chased with his blood, and in which he accom-
 “ plished the mysteries of our redemption.”

His discourse drew tears from the whole assembly. The princes and lords that were present, agreed unanimously to put on the cross; and the fathers of the council made a particular decree, by which they fixed the rendezvous of the crusade on June 1. A. D. 1217. “ Then, says the council, such as
 “ will pass by sea shall assemble at Messina or Brun-
 “ desium, and the land armies shall begin their
 “ march the same day.”

The bishops, after breaking up, preached the crusade in their dioceses, with great zeal and success. The emperor Frederic, Andrew king of Hungary, Leopold duke of Austria, Louis duke of Bavaria, and an infinite number of princes and prelates, French, Hungarians, Dutch, Frieslanders and Norwegians, put on the cross: but every one, at taking that badge of his engagement, reserved to himself the right of fixing the time of his departure for the Holy Land, and his stay in it, which he regulated according to the state of his health, or situation of his affairs. Thus the emperor, whom they

* Conc. Lat. 4. Sermo prim.

thought obliged to put himself at the head of the first body of the crusade, was hindered by the troubles of Italy; and besides, he had not yet received the crown of the empire at Rome; a ceremony which the popes of those times had forced the princes that were elected emperors to submit to.

Andrew, king of Hungary, was the first that set out for the succour of the Holy Land, at the head of an army composed of different nations. He was a prince highly valuable for his piety, and an extraordinary zeal for the administration of justice. He marched his army by land as far as Venice, where he embarked for Constantinople. This prince, before he left his dominions, received a letter from pope Honorius III. who, two years before, had succeeded innocent III. That pontiff exhorted him to undertake nothing in the war against the infidels, without the knowledge and advice of the grand master of the hospitallers. The king, in answer to this, told him, that he was so well satisfied of the grand master's valour and capacity, that he had wrote to him already agreeable to his holiness's sentiments, and had desired him to meet him in the isle of Cyprus, about the feast of our lady in September, as well to confer together upon measures relating to the champaign, as to take the benefit of the grand master's squadron, for his securer arrival in the port of St. John d'Acre. These circumstances we learn from the very brief which this pope sent to the grand master, and the whole order of the hospitallers, exhorting them in the most pressing terms, to give the king of Hungary, the duke of Austria, and all the leaders of the army, their advice and the succour they might stand in need of.

The king of Hungary, before he passed the Bosphorus, was obliged to stay some time at Constantinople, to wait the arrival of the Italians that en-

gaged in the crusade, who were daily expected. During his abode in that great city, there happened in his dominions and in his own house, a fatal accident, which shortened that prince's stay in the east, and made him less serviceable to the Latin Christians of Palestine. His majesty, when he was leaving his own territories, committed the regency of them to the palatine of the kingdom, named Bancbannus, whose zeal and fidelity he had long experienced: he recommended to him at parting, to preserve peace with the princes his neighbours, and particularly to administer exact justice to all his subjects, without regard to the birth or dignity of any person whatsoever. The palatine, during the king's absence, omitted nothing to make a suitable return to the confidence he was honoured with; and whilst he was entirely taken up with the affairs of state, his wife, a lady of admirable beauty, endeavoured, by her constant attendance about the queen, to divert the melancholy which the absence of the king her husband might occasion.

Such was the situation of the court of Hungary when the count of Moravia arrived at it. He was the queen's brother, and she loved him tenderly. Nothing was to be seen at first, but feasts and diversions; but in the sequel, the flattering poison of love crept in among these innocent amusements. The count of Moravia became desperately enamoured with the regent's wife, and had the assurance to declare his passion to her. The lady, who was yet more virtuous than she was beautiful, answered him only by the sternness of her looks. Resistance produced its usual effect, and the criminal desires of the count became thereupon but the more violent. His passion, which was gaining ground continually, threw him at last into a deep melancholy: he cared no more for plays, diversions, shows, and all those vain amusements, with which the great world so seriously idle away their time: Solitude

was

was his only pleasure; but the queen, out of a complaisance natural to women for this sort of malady, to wean her brother from so lonesome a way of life, made use of various pretences to keep the regent's wife about her, or to send for her whenever she removed from the palace. The lady easily saw through the dishonourable motives of this seeming fondness, and, to avoid all conversation with the court, feigned herself for some time to be ill; but that pretence being over, and her own birth, as well as her husband's quality, not allowing her to be absent any longer from court, she returned to the palace. The count, for fear of disobliging her, dissembled his sentiments, and a behaviour, full of respect succeeded in appearance to the violence and extravagance of his passion.

The regent's wife, encouraged by this discreet conduct, continued going to court*; when the queen, under pretence of talking to her in private, led her into a by-place of her apartment, where shutting her in, she abandoned her to the criminal desires of her brother, who, by concert with the queen, was hid in the closet. The regent's wife went thence with confusion in her looks, and resentment in her heart; he immured herself in her house, where she did nothing but bewail in private the count's villany and her own dishonour. But the regent being one day about to take his place in her bed, the secret broke from her, and carried away by the excess of her anguish, "Do not come near me," she says, shedding at the same time a torrent of tears, "but, quit a wife that is no more worthy of the chaste embraces of her husband; a vile wretch has violated your bed; and the queen his sister was not ashamed to betray an deliver me up to his violence. I had before now taken vengeance on myself for their crime,

* Bonfin. Dec. 2, p. 279.

“ if religion had not restrained me from making
 “ away with myself. But that prohibition of the
 “ law does not regard an injured husband: I am
 “ too criminal, since I am deflowered: I ask my
 “ death of you as a favour, to keep me from sur-
 “ viving my shame and my dishonour.”

The regent, though in the height of affliction, and in all the fury of resentment, told her, “ That
 “ an involuntary fault was rather a misfortune
 “ than a crime, and that the violence done to her
 “ body did not sully the purity of her soul; that
 “ he begged of her to be easy, or at least to take
 “ care to conceal the occasion of her sorrow. A
 “ common interest adds he, obliges us both to
 “ dissimble to horrible an outrage, till we can re-
 “ venge it in a manner suitable to the enormity of
 “ the offence.”

His design was to make the count feel the first effects of it; but hearing that he was gone away privately to return into his own country, the regent, enraged, that his victim was escaped, turned all his resentment against the queen herself. He went to the palace, and persuaded the queen to go into her closet, under pretence of showing her some letters, which he said he had received from the king. As soon as he saw himself alone with her, after reproaching her with the criminal correspondence she had held with the count, and her treachery to his wife, the furious palatine plunged his dagger in her heart; and going out of the cabinet in a rage, he publicly before the whole court proclaimed his shame and his vengeance.

Whether it was surprize or respect that hindered them, no body offered to meddle with him; he mounted his horse without any obstacle; and taking some noblemen with him, who had been witnesses of this fatal catastrophe, he set out for Constantinople, where he arrived before the king left that city. He went immediately to the palace where

where that prince dwelt, and presenting himself before him, with an intrepidity hardly to be paralleled, " Sir, says he to him, when I received your
 " last orders at your leaving Hungary, you re-
 " commended to me, in a particular manner, to
 " do exact justice to all your subjects, without re-
 " gard to any one's rank or condition : I have done
 " it so to myself ; I have killed the queen your
 " wife, who had prostituted mine ; and, far from
 " seeking my safety in an unworthy flight, I here
 " bring you my head ; dispose as you please
 " of my life ; but remember, that it is either by
 " my life or death that you subjects will judge of
 " your equity, and whether I am guilty or inno-
 " cent."

The king heard this surprising discourse without interrupting him, and even without changing colour ; and when the regent had ended. " if the
 " case be as you say replies the prince to him, re-
 " turn into Hungary, continue to administer jus-
 " tice to my subjects, with as much exactness and
 " severity as you have done it to yourself : I shall
 " stay a short while in the Holy Land, and at my
 " return I will examine upon the spot whether
 " your action deserves commendation or punish-
 " ment."

Thus Bonfinius, the historian of Hungary, relates the fact : but Duglos, commonly called Longinus, pretends, that the death of that prince was caused by a conspiracy of some Hungarian Lords, who were incited at the queen for bringing some German prince, her relations, to court, and giving them the principal posts of the kingdom. There are other authors too, who maintain, that this prince died before the king her husband quitted Hungary to go to the Holy Land.

Be that as it will, his majesty embarked soon after, and arrived without any obstacle in the
 island

island of Cyprus. He found there the grand master of the hospitallers of St. John, with the principal officers of his order; and after conferring with them about the state of affairs in the east, he put to sea again with Hugh de Lusignan king of the island. They had a prosperous voyage; and, without meeting with any opposition from the infidels in their passage, the whole Christian fleet arrived in the port of St. John d'Acre. The king of Hungary on his landing, would not lodge in the palace of the king of Jerusalem, which was made ready for him, either to prevent any dispute about the ceremonial among the several princes then at Acre, or because the fatal death of the queen, and the tragical circumstances that attended it, were true, as Bonfinius pretends, and the crime she was accused of, the vengeance that one of his subjects had dared to take of it, and the doubt he was tormented with by fits as to the queen's guilt and the regent's fidelity; all this had thrown him into a deep melancholy. He retired to the hospitallers, and near the grand master, whose pious and solid discourses were more agreeable to the temper of his mind. There is no describing the religious sentiments which that prince felt in seeing the charity practised in that holy house with regard to the poor and pilgrims: and what increased his surprize and admiration, was to see those knights so fierce and dreadful, when armed in the field, become like other men in their house, and employ themselves, in virtue of their obedience, in all the most humbling offices about the poor and sick.

The king of Hungary would needs visit at the same time the towns of Margat and Carac, which the hospitallers were still masters of: he found there the same regularity and discipline, as in the principal house of St. John d'Acre, *i. e.* he saw there a number of holy friars and brave soldiers, all inflamed with zeal for the conquest of the holy places.

places. There is indeed no reproaching these military friars with any thing, but a little too much niceness in regard to the templars, upon what the men of the world call the point of honour.

This prince desired to be admitted into the order as a brother, that so he might partake in the good works of the hospitallers *. He 1218. gave seven hundred merks of silver to the order for ever, to be levied every year upon the salt works of Saloch in Hungary; and as the knights of Carac were continually in action against the infidels, he stipulated expressly in the deed of his grant, that of these seven hundred merks, sixty of them should be applied to the particular occasions of Raimond de Pigna, governor of the fortrets of Carac, and his successors in the same government. The instrument of this endowment is still subsisting in the archives of the Vatican; and there is an extract given of it in Rainaldi's continuation of Baronius.

We see there the attestation that this prince gives to the merit and virtue of these knights; "Lodging, says he, in their house, I have seen them feed every day an innumerable multitude of poor, the sick laid in good beds, and treated with great care, the dying assisted with an exemplary piety, and the dead buried with proper decency. In a word, continues that prince, the knights of St. John are employed, sometimes like Mary in contemplation, and sometimes like Martha in action; and this noble militia consecrate their days either in their infirmities, or else in engagements against the infidel Amalekites and the enemies of the cross." It is thus that the king of Hungary speaks of them †.

That

* Reg. Honorius III. t. 1. f. 2-6. Rain. t. 13. num. 16. p. 280.

† Nec immerite cum illic hospitali, videmus innumerum pauperum

That prince having advice that Coradine sultan of Damascus, and son to Safadine, had taken the field, in order to besiege St. John d'Acre, drew immediately out of the town, and advanced towards the enemy with the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the two grand masters of the hospitalers and templars, the master of the Teutonic order, and all the troops that were in the place. The infidels, surprised at so expeditious an armament, and the boldness with which the Christians marched against them, entrenched themselves with care: several of their parties however that went out foraging were cut in pieces. Coradine did not think it advisable in this juncture, to come to a decisive engagement against an army that had three kings at its head, but retired into his own territories. The Christians pursued him for some time, ravaged his frontier in their turn, and then, as winter was coming on, they separated. The king of Cyprus went to Tripoli, where he fell sick and died, a little after he quitted the army. The king of Hungary, before he left Palestine, bathed himself with all his troops in the river Jordan, on St. Martin's eve; a religious ceremony used out of devotion by pilgrims, when they were not hindered by the Turks and Saracens. In fine, this prince, after having spent three months in Palestine to perform his vow, being pressed by the remembrance of the misfortunes that had since his absence happened in his kingdom, set out upon his return thither. All the instances that the patriarch of Jerusalem could make him, nay the terrors of excommunication

rum eorum diurno pastu quotidie sustentari, fessus languorum artos lectisterniis, variisque ciborum copiis refici, mortuorum corpora cum debita veneratione sepeliri, ut in genere singulorum referamus quæ per singula generum enarrare non possumus, u Mariam et Mariam sacratissimum sæpe dictæ domus hospitalis collegium nunc variis sine cære contemplationibus, nunc contra Dei adversarios, et hostes crucis Christi, adversus etiam Amalec, incessanti perfectæ militiæ conflictu, de die in diem dimicare. Rainaldus, t. 13. n. 16, p. 283.

which

which that prelate thundered out against him, could not keep him longer in the Holy Land; and after a long voyage, and various dangers, he arrived safe in his dominions. His first care upon his return was to have the affair of Bancbannus tried before him; and after hearing the witnesses himself, and examining the various circumstances of that unhappy affair, he was equitable enough to declare the regent acquitted of the queen's death.

The king of Jerusalem, the duke of Austria, and the hospitallers, after his departure, advanced into the enemy's country, and reformed the castle of Caesarea, whilst the templars and Teutonic knights on the other hand built, or rather repaired a fortress, situate on an eminence adjoining, which was called the castle of the pilgrims. These two places covered St. John d'Acre, and served at the same time to extend their contributions upon lands at that time in the hands of the infidels.

After this expedition, the king, the duke of Austria, and the two grand masters, and the master of the Teutonics, returned to St. John d'Acre, where arrived about the same time a considerable fleet of Germans, Friesslanders and Dutch, commanded by William I. count of Holland, a succour which very seasonably supplied the place of that which they had just lost by the precipitate departure of the king of Hungary.

The king of Jerusalem, seeing himself sustained by these troops of the crusade, and having advice that they were likewise preparing a new army in most of the ports of Italy, resolved to carry the war into Egypt, thereby to oblige the infidels to abandon Palestine; and in a great council, at which were present the king, the Duke of Austria, the grand masters and the bishops, it was agreed to besiege Damietta, the most regular fortification of that kingdom. This resolution being taken, they embarked

embarked their troops at the latter end of May, and set sail. The Christian army in three days time landed in Egypt, and made their descent without any opposition in a place situated westward of Damietta, and separated from it only by an arm of the Nile.

The christians at first met with no resistance, but in a large tower or castle, fortified as well as art could make it at that time, built in the middle of that arm of the Nile, and bravely defended by the garrison. My design is not to enter into the detail of all that passed at the attack of this advanced work, which covered the town of Damietta: I shall only observe, after Matthew Paris, that the knights of St. John on this occasion supported their ordinary reputation. These warlike friars, tying two ships together to make them steadier, advance boldly to the wall, clap ladders to it, mount through the midst of the fire works, javelins and stones and without being daunted at the fall of their companions, push on to gain the top of the rampart. But the mast of one of the ships failing, the ladders broke, and most of the knights falling into the water, being encumber'd with the weight of their armour, were drown'd*. The loss of these brave soldiers did not cool the courage of their companions of the order and the crusade; they renewed the scalado several times, but still without success, till the Germans at last clapping a new invented machine to the walls, made themselves by that means masters of the tower, the taking of which opened a way for attacking the place.

The sultan foreseeing that the loss of this advanced work would draw after it that of Damietta, is said to have died of grief. The Latin historians

* Hospitalariorum, proh dolor! scala confraeta, simili modo cum malo cecidit, et milites strenuos, et alios armatos, Nilum in demersit. Matt. Paris, ad an. 1218. t. 2. p. 301.

call this sultan by the name of Safadine; but the Arabians give him that of Melic-el-adel-Aboubeker son of Job: he had fifteen sons, and some time before his death had divided his dominions between the six eldest. Melic-el-Camel, the eldest of all, had Egypt, and Coradine, Syria: Haran, a town of Mesopotamia, was Achrof's share, and Bosra in Arabia, that of Salech-Ismael; the two next had likewise some towns for their portion. The nine others continued in these territories, under the power of their elder brothers; and, to provide for their subsistence, Safadine settled two of them in Jerusalem, where they enjoyed the tribute that the western Christians paid at the gates of the city; two others discharged the same office at Mecca, and enjoyed likewise the revenues arising from the offerings of the Mahometan pilgrims, who flocked thither in great numbers from Asia and Africa; and as for the five last, they had in all probability some pensions assigned them suitable to their birth and rank in the state.

The Christians in the mean while continued the siege of Damietta with great vigour, and received about that time new succours from the west. A crusade composed of Italians, French, German and English, arrived in Egypt, and joined the camp. The pope had put Cardinal d'Albano at the head of this army, as legate of the holy see, a prelate proud and haughty, self-conceited, and one who would always have his own opinion carry it in the council of war, before even the sentiments of the king and his generals, as if the pope, with the bulls of his legation, had given a cardinal the talents necessary to form a great captain. The sultan of Egypt on the other hand called in his brother the sultan of Syria to his succour, a prince that loved war, and managed it with success, but cruel, bloody, and the only one of all the children of Safadine that

resembled him most, as well in his vices as his valour.

The young sultan, besides the army which he commanded in person, made likewise new levies, and before he set out for Egypt, demolished the fortifications of Jerusalem, and levelled the walls, designed thereby either to strengthen his army with the garrison of the place, or to prevent the christians; who he apprehended, if they took Damietta, would return into Palestine, and fortify themselves in the capital, which was the great aim of all their enterprizes.

This prince in a march of twenty days crossed the deserts which divide that kingdom from Egypt, and joined sultan Camel his eldest brother, who was advanced to meet him. After this junction they drew near the christian camp, in order to force them to raise the siege. The besieged were every day making sallies with all their forces, and the besiegers were at the same time obliged to sustain the attacks of the two sultans, who tried all manner of ways to throw succours into the place.

The English historian, whom I cited above, tells us, that the three military orders * were in a manner the only persons who were able to make head on all sides against the enemy, and were, as he says, like a wall of brass, to shield the rest of the soldiery on all occasions; that the hospitallers, in particular, behaved always with extraordinary valour; that in the last sally before the place was taken, the marshal of the order was killed at the head of his company; that many of the knights had the same fate, and that some were taken prisoners.

* Rex vero Jerusalem, cum templariis, et domo Teutonicorum, et hospitalis sancti Johannis, impetum paganorum sustinuerunt, et pro muro fuerunt fugientibus, quoties illas suas facies ostendebant. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. ad an. 1219.

Templarii triginta tres capti sunt, vel interfecti, cum mareschallo hospitalis sancti Joannis, et fratribus quibusdam ejusdem domus. Idem. tom. p. 2. 396.

The sultan seeing with pain, that he could not carry his point, and cause the siege to be raised, for the obtaining a peace, and to save Damiata, the key of his kingdom, he offered the christians to restore them the true cross that was taken at the battle of Tiberias, to deliver up the city of Jerusalem, and even advance the money necessary to rebuild the walls, and repair the fortifications. He offered too the castle of Thoron, and some other places, but insisted on keeping Carac and Montreal, two fortresses situated on the edge of Arabia, from whence the Christian garrisons in their excursions had often carried off the caravans that were going out of devotion to Mecca; and this prince, who was religious in his way, according to the principles of his sect, chose rather to subject himself to an annual tribute, than restore two places; the soldiers of which might disturb the Mahometans in the exercise of that part of their religion.

From the little we know of the character and manners of these different nations it is plain, that we cannot consider these wars, which lasted so long, under any other notion than as religious wars, and this in regard of the infidels as well as the Christians, both making it a part of their worship, to visit at least once in their life, the tomb of the author of their religion. The popes and caliphs equally annexed spiritual recompences to those pious voyages; and if there came shoals of christian pilgrims from the west to Jerusalem, Mecca drew at least as many Mussulmen from Asia and Africa, error cloaking itself with the same motives as truth.

This was the reason which induced the sultan to keep the castles of Carac and Montreal: saving this article, that prince wished with 1219. passion to see the siege of Damiata raised.

The king of Jerusalem for his part was of opinion to accept of conditions that answered all the wishes and desires of the crusade; but the legate, who assumed

sumed an unlimited authority in the army, maintained, that the sultan's proposals ought to be rejected, and that the critical moment was come for making an entire conquest of Egypt, the fate of which would determine that of the king of Jerusalem. The imperious legate's sentiment prevailed in the council of war over that of the king of Jerusalem, who vexed to find that he was not master of his own troops, under pretence of fetching new reinforcements, retired to St. John d'Acre. The success nevertheless seemed at first to justify the legate's advice; Damietta was carried in an attack made by night, or rather was taken for want of men to defend it; the inhabitants and soldiers being all destroyed, either in engagements, or by famine and want of provisions, above fourscore thousand men having died in the place during the siege. The christians entering the town found every where a dismal solitude, and the few inhabitants they met with in some houses had staid there only because they were so weak, that they had not strength to get out of doors. Cardinal James de Vitri, who was at this siege, bought a good number of sucking children, designing to have them baptized; but above five hundred of them, he says, died soon after, in all probability of the famine which they and their mothers had suffered.

The legate, proud of this good success, and seeing himself absolute master of the army, made them advance into the heart of E. 1220. gypt, contrary to the advice of all the chiefs, and engaged between the branches of the Nile. The sultan opening the sluices, and cutting the banks of the river, it overflowed the place where the Christians were encamped: they then found themselves shut up in an island, with as little ability to subsist there as to get out of it; this first misfortune was soon succeeded by a famine; and the army

army being ready to starve, was forced to make a truce of eight days with the infidels. To get bread to eat, and liberty to retire, they were obliged to quit Damietta, and deliver up all the slaves and prisoners that were at Acre and Tyre. The Sarazens on that part engaged to restore the true cross, and all the captives they had at Babylon in Egypt, or Grand Cairo and Damascus, to conduct the army to a place of safety, and supply them with provisions in their retreat. Every thing was executed punctually on both sides, except the restitution of the true cross, which the infidels in all probability had lost. The christian army dispersed after this accident, and the legate's presumption hindered the king of Jerusalem from recovering his kingdom.

Yet as in public misfortunes every one labours to vindicate himself at the expence of others, the private enemies of the knights of St. John and the templars, accused them to Pope Honorius III. of having diverted to their own profit the vast sums that were remitted out of Europe into Palestine, for the expences of the crusade, and the subsistence of the army. This calumny having spread thro' most countries of Christendom, the pope thought himself obliged to examine into it, and wrote upon that occasion to the legate, the patriarch, and chief leaders of the army. Public and private informations were given in, but they ended only in the confusion of the slanderers. The legate, the patriarch, and the principal officers of the army, wrote back to the sovereign pontiff, that they heard with grief the abominable calumny with which some had endeavoured to blacken the reputation of the military orders; that they themselves were witnesses to the contrary; and that these generous knights had spent the revenues of the two houses, and exhausted their substance to supply the expence of the siege; that the order of St. John alone had advanced a-

bove eight thousand byzantines ; that they had lost abundance of their knights, and that pursuant to the spirit of their institution, they had prodigally thrown away their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Christians. The pope being acquainted with the truth of the matter, to do the knights the justice that was owing to them, ordered the legate himself to proclaim their innocence in his name : and this pontiff wrote at the same time to the bishops of France, England and Sicily, to take care in their several diocesses to extinguish so black a calumny. “ We will, and require you, adds the “ pope *, to honour, love and cherish them, as “ the noblest defenders of Christianity.”

There could be no surer proof given at that time of the purity of a person's faith, and his adherence to the holy see, than by taking the habit of one of the military orders : several princes themselves, and many of the greatest lords would die, and be buried with the cross. It was with this view that Raimond count of Tholouse and marquis of Provence took the habit. It is well known, that this prince, one of the greatest and most powerful feudatories of the crown of France, was suspected of having caused a legate of the pope's to be dispatched, and of favouring the Albigenses, and on that account was joined in an excommunication pronounced against these heretics his subjects, and in consequence thereof, deprived of the greatest part of his dominions. There was nothing of so mortifying and humbling a nature in canonical penances but he submitted to it, in order to get free from that fatal censure ; but those who had shared in the spoil, kept the doors of the church always shut a-

* *Volumus et præcipimus, ut eos tanquam veros Christi athletas et præcipuos Christianæ fidei defensores. studeatis honorare, diligere ac fovere, eorum super hoc declarantes innocentiam, et fidei virtutes constantem prædicantes. In archivio Vaticano, ex registro Honorii III. tom. 2. fol. 30.*

gainst him, for fear of opening him a door into his dominions. They would willingly have owned him as a catholic, if he could have been brought to renounce the county of Tholouse. In fine, that prince, who had so much reason to preserve the dominions which he derived from his ancestors for young Raimond his son, thought he should find better access, and less difficulty with the pope, than with his legates and ministers, and resolved to go to Rome. As soon as he arrived there, he demanded an audience of the pope, which was easily granted. The pope considering the birth, the dignity and age of that prince, received him in full consistory. Raimond, after mentioning the greatness of his ancestors, their virtues, and the purity of their religion, made a confession of his faith, and laying his hand upon his breast, to vouch the truth of his discourse, he protested by all that is dear to a Christian, that he had never departed from the principles of the faith, nor from the submission he owed to the vicar of Jesus Christ. He insisted next on the shameful penance which the legates had imposed upon him, and which he had gone through in the town of St. Giles. where he was dragged in sight of his subjects. with a halter about his neck, and lashed in the most ignominious manner. He denied absolutely the murder of the legate that had been the cause of it; and concluded with complaining of Simon de Montferrat, general of the league against the Albigenes, who under the veil of religion sought only to raise himself a great estate and possessions in Languedoc.

It is said, that the pope could not refrain from tears at the relation of this prince's misfortunes, and that he wrote likeways to the legates in his favour: but whether they were persuaded that Raimond was an heretic in his heart, or whether they only pretended it, to perpetuate an inquisition, the whole authority of which was vested in them, they paid

paid little regard to the pope's orders. This prince, to undeceive the public at least, some time after his return from Italy, declared by a public and authentic deed, that he obliged himself to take the habit and cross of the hospitallers, and that in case he was prevented by death, his intention was, that they should bury him in the church of the hospitallers at Tholouse : there was not in that age a more authentic mark of perfect catholicism.

His historian relates, that from that time this prince, in imitation of the hospitallers, fed a certain number of poor every day, and caused them to be cloathed annually. He was seen, says he, every morning at the church of Notre-Dame de la Daurade on his knees, and bare-headed, making long and fervent prayers ; and in a word, practising all the exercises of a true hospitaller. It was in this disposition that he was seized with a fit of an apoplexy. He sent immediately for Jourdain abbot of St. Sernin, to reconcile him to the church, and give him the sacraments, and at the same time the hospitallers of Tholouse were made acquainted with the extremity the prince was reduced to. But when the abbot of St. Sernin arrived, he had lost his speech, yet he lifted up his eyes to heaven ; his hands were joined together, he gave all the signs of repentance that can be required of a good christian, and in his looks might be read the sentiments of his heart. The hospitallers of St. John coming in haste, threw over him a mantle of the order, which some were for pulling off, under pretence of the excommunication ; but the count held it fast with his hands, and devoutly kissing the cross sowed upon the mantle, he died presently 1221. after ; and the abbot of St. Sernin, frightened as he was with the thunder of the Vatican, with which that prince was struck, could not help saying to the standers by, " Pray to God for him, " I believe him saved." He pretended too to keep his

his body, because he died in his parish ; but the young prince would have his father's intentions observed. The hospitallers carried him into their house, which he had chosen for his burial. Yet by reason of the excommunication, they durst not bury him in the church, but put him decently in a coffin, where his skull was found whole in 1630.

France in the year following lost King Philip II. and the order of the hospitallers a generous benefactor. This prince falling ill, 1222. and finding himself in a weak condition, July 14, made his will ; and, among a great number of pious legacies, bequeathed one hundred thousand livres to the king of Jerusalem for the defence of the Holy Land, and the like sum to the hospitallers of St. John and the templars *. Brother Guerin or Garin, first minister †, who had suggested these holy legacies to the king, was named executor, together with Bartholomew de Roye chamberlain of France, and brother Aimer treasurer of the temple. The queen, after the king her husband's death, founded a priory at Corbeil for thirteen chaplains of the order of the hospitallers, upon condition of saying there every day three masses, for the rest of the soul of that great prince. The foundation was approved by the grand master de Montaigu, and by the council of the order, and confirmed by the bulls of pope Honorius III.

In the mean time, as the affair of the Holy Land was at that time the common affair of all Christendom, a famous assembly was held 1223. at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, to

* See le miroir Histor l. 13. c. 15. p. 166.

† Rex Philippus viam universæ carnis ingreditur, reliquens tria millia librarum Parisiensium in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, centum milia in manibus regis Joannis, et centum millia in manibus magistri hospitalis, et centum millia in manibus magistri templi. Sa-aut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 220.

consider of succours to be sent thither. Pope Honorius III. and the emperor Frederic II. came to Ferentino, the one from Rome, and the other from his kingdom of Sicily; and from beyond sea arrived John king of Jerusalem, the patriarch of that city, the legate Pelagius, the bishop of Bethlehem, Guerin de Montaign grand master of the hospitallers, a commander of the templars, and Herman de Saltza, fourth master of the Teutonic or German knights. The pope pressed the emperor to perform the promise he made when he put on the cross, of leading in person a powerful succour to the Holy Land: and to engage him in the affair, the empress Constantia his wife being dead, Herman de Saltza proposed a match between him and the princess Yolante, only daughter and heiress of the king of Jerusalem. The master of the Teutonic managed this negotiation so skillfully, that the marriage was agreed on, and the emperor promised with an oath to go into Palestine, in two years from the next midsummer. He afterwards married the princess, but contrary to his express promise given to the king of Jerusalem, of letting him enjoy that kingdom for his life, he obliged him by a forced abdication, to resign the crown. The pope was mediator of this great affair: it was the interest of these pontiffs to remove the sovereigns of Europe, and especially of Italy, as far from their countries as might be. The emperor's voyage and residence in Palestine rid him of the presence of a mighty prince, who would abate nothing of his sovereign authority; so finding his own interest at Frederic's being at a distance, and, to make so harsh a proceeding appear less odious in the eyes of Brienne, he represented to him, that so potent a prince as Frederic would defend the Holy Land with more zeal and warmth, and that he would make much greater efforts if he fought for his own interests, than if he was only to defend a crown which

which he saw actually upon another's head, and the succession whereof could not but appear to him at a great distance. John de Brienne gave his consent to what he could not help.

The pope did not fail to notify this new disposition to most of the sovereigns of Europe, that they might serve as witnesses of the emperor's engagements. The late king of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the hospitallers, travelled afterwards over France, Spain, England and Germany, to obtain succours. France immediately paid in all the money which Philip Augustus had left by his will for so holy an expedition. Thibaud count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, who was joined by Peter de Dreux, formerly count of Bretagne and several French Lords, Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England, and a great number of English gentlemen, put on the cross; but they set out for the Holy Land most of them at different times. The emperor had sent his lieutenants before with a good body of troops, till, as he said, he could go thither in person: But as Palestine was then destitute of the presence of its king, and without any chief of sufficient authority, most of these succours became unserviceable through the different views of the commanders. There was no regular design formed and pursued; one made a truce with the infidels, and another broke it, without considering the injury that such a conduct must do to the affairs and reputation of the Christians. The military orders too were still divided; every one's aim was solely for himself; and when the grand master of the hospitallers returned to St. John d'Acre, he found Palestine in a manner without any government, and destitute of that bond so necessary in civil society, and which makes all the members join together, to promote the common good of the state.

The count of Tripoli, a fierce and enterprizing prince,

prince, had taken the advantage of his absence to seize several castles, which either belonged to the order, or were in their custody. He seized likewise a house of theirs at Tripoli, where he caused one of the knights to be flayed alive, and another that opposed these violences to be stabbed *. The grand master, at his return, demanded satisfaction for these cruelties; but not obtaining it, he wrote to the pope, who used his good offices and remonstrances with the count, but in vain. The sovereign pontiff was obliged at last to excommunicate him; but neither was this sufficient to bring him to a compliance. Then the grand master, with the pope's leave, entering the counts territories at the head of the hospitallers, the sight of those troops made more impression on the cruel and savage prince than all the thunders of the Vatican.

Raimond made the order a reasonable satisfaction for the injuries he had done them, and restored all that he had usurped. The grand master, at the pope's instance, threw likewise part of his troops into Cyprus, on pretence that the coasts of that island were frequently infested by Corsairs: but the true reason was, to hinder at the same time Raimond prince of Antioch, who had married Queen Alice, widow of King Hugh, from seizing on that kingdom, to the prejudice of Henry, who was still a minor †.

The emperor being employed in Lombardy against the rebel towns, which had entered
1225. into a league to throw off his authority, desired the pope to dispense with his voyage to the Holy Land for two years longer. The

* Domum ipsam quam ipsi habent apud Tripolim capiens violenter, rapie concitatus diabolica, unum ex ipsis excoriari, et alium, ut dicitur, occidi fecit, præter id quod quibusdam eorum crudeliter, et inhonestè tractatis damna eis gravia et injurias irrogavit. Rainaldi, tom. 13. 1226. num. 55, 56, 57. p. 638 et 639.

† Sanut. l. 3. 10. p. 221.

sovereign pontiff granted his request, upon the following conditions : that at the term of two years ending in August, he should go over in person within that time ; that for the two years following he should maintain two thousand knights there ; that at three different times he should defray the passage of two thousand other knights, with their equipages, at three horses a knight ; that he should keep fifty gallies well manned in the port of St. John d'Acce ; that he should deposite an hundred thousand ounces of gold for the expence of this armament, in the hands of John de Brienne the patriarch, and the master of the Teutonic order ; and in case it should please God to take him out of the world, before he could pass into the Holy Land, or his voyage should be deferred, that then this great sum should be disposed of according to the advice of the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars ; all which conditions the emperor submitted to, as appears from that prince's diploma recited by Rainaldi *.

Frederic, having obtained the time he moved for, employed it honourably in making preparations suitable to so great an enterprize. An hundred gallies and fifty ships were fitted out by his orders, in the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; and several German princes, with an infinite number of the crusade, repaired to Brundisium. In the middle of August, A. D. 1227, that is, within the term he had stipulated with the pope, the emperor himself embarked with a fleet that carried near forty thousand men : but after three days sail he fell sick, as did also several princes and lords

* Et si nos, quod Deus avertat, in terra illa vel citrà, ante passagium memoratum obire contigerit, vel aliàs quacunque de causa torstati non transferimus, rex et patriarcha, et magister demùs Teutonicorum, ad laudem et consilium magistrorum hospitalis et templi, ac aliorum proborum hominum de terra expendent eandem pecuniam bona fide sicut melius viderent expedire utilitati Terræ Sanctæ. Rain. tom. 13. ad ann. 1225. num. 4. p. 347.

of his court, and among the rest, the Landgrave of Hesse. The Landgrave's illness growing dangerous, the physicians were of opinion; that the land air would be of more benefit to him than all the remedies of their art; they thereupon put into the port of Tarento, where the Landgrave died, leaving his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew King of Hungary, in a state of widowhood, a princess not above twenty years of age, and of great virtue. The emperor escaped with only some fits of an ague; but pope Gregory IX. (who had just succeeded Honorius III.) a pontiff that treated sovereigns with a high hand, being persuaded notwithstanding the Landgrave's death, that the emperor's illness was a mere pretence, excommunicated him publicly in the great church of Anagni, where he then was. The sovereign pontiff ushered in this solemn ceremony with a sermon, in which he took for his text these words of the gospel, "It must needs be that offences come;" and enlarging much upon St. Michael's victory over the dragon, he fell abruptly upon the excommunication, which he was going to thunder out against the emperor. I give this short taste of the pope's style, because the style oftentimes shews the genius and character of the age. Gregory wrote afterwards circular letters to all the bishops, to acquaint them with the severity he thought himself obliged to use with regard to that prince: he had fixed, says the pope in that letter, the month of August, A. D. 1227. for the last moment of his departure; and yet he was scarce at sea a few days before, under pretence of sickness, he landed again, and returned to enjoy a lazy life, as usual. The pontiff, writing in particular to the bishops of Apulia, says, "Since the Emperor Frederic neglected his own salvation, and deferred performing the vow he had made of going to the Holy Land, we have drawn against him the medicinal sword of St. Peter, publishing

“ publishing, out of our great tenderness for
 “ him, the sentence of excommunication against
 “ him.”

The emperor, surprized and provoked at the pope's conduct, sent on his part a public letter, by way of manifesto, to all the so- 1228. vereigns of Christendom, wherein, after appealing to God for the reality of the sickness, which had forced him to put ashore, he complains, in very bitter terms, of the pope's precipitation, and declared, that he would put to sea again as soon as he had recovered his health. In the letter that he wrote in particular to the king of England, which Matthew Paris has transmitted down to us, he runs out into invectives against the court of Rome: “ The Romans, says he, are inflamed
 “ with such a passion for scraping money together,
 “ out of all the countries of Christendom, that af-
 “ ter draining the revenues of particular churches,
 “ they are not ashamed to rob even sovereign prin-
 “ ces, and endeavour to make crowned heads
 “ their tributaries. You have yourself, says he to
 “ the king of England, had a very sensible proof
 “ of this, in the person of king John your father.
 “ You have that of the count of Tholouse, and of
 “ so many other princes, whose dominions they
 “ have laid under interdicts, which they would ne-
 “ ver take off till they had put on their chains, and
 “ submitted to be slaves. What may not be said of
 “ the unheard of exactions which they impose u-
 “ pon the clergy, and the open or palliated usuries
 “ with which they infect the whole christian
 “ world? And yet, in spite of those notorious
 “ robberies, these blood suckers would palm the
 “ court of Rome upon us for the church our mo-
 “ ther. The spirit and conduct of both shew us
 “ plainly the difference between them. The court
 “ of Rome sends its legates into all quarters, with
 “ power to punish, suspend and excommunicate ;

“ whereas the true church, actuated by a spirit of
 “ charity, sends out her ministers only to propa-
 “ gate the word of God ; the one aims at nothing
 “ but amassing wealth, and gathering where she
 “ has not sowed, but the other has deposited her
 “ treasures in holy monasteries, to provide for the
 “ poor and pilgrims ; and yet these Romans, un-
 “ worthy of that honourable name, without either
 “ courage or nobility, swelled with a vain opinion
 “ of their learning, would fain set themselves up a-
 “ bove kings and emperors. In a word, adds that
 “ prince, the church was founded upon poverty
 “ and simplicity, and no body can lay any other
 “ foundation than that which was laid by Jesus
 “ Christ himself, who is the corner stone, as well
 “ as architect thereof *.”

Though there is no excusing the rough language that runs throughout this letter, yet it is certain, that the popes often made use of this pretext of the crusades, to keep princes and their subjects in a dependence on the court of Rome : nor is it less true, that most sovereigns, on the other hand, were not sorry to see the dukes, counts, and other great vassals of their crowns, go abroad on these remote expeditions, and, by their absence, which was often followed by their death, leave them a more absolute authority in their dominions. Thus did interest and ambition make their advantage of a pious institution, which was originally designed only to deliver the churches of the east from the tyranny of the infidels.

In the mean time the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, and most of the prelates of Palestine, wrote to the pope, acquainting him with the miserable and calamitous state to which they were reduced, by the emperor's not arriving in August. The militia of the crusade, say they,

* Sed aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter illud quod positum est à Domino Jesu, ac stabilitum. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. A. D. 1228. p. 347. et 348.

which were come into Syria, to the number of near forty thousand men, are gone back into the west, on board the same ships that brought them : there are only about eight hundred knights that stay behind, and these all demand leave to return, or insist that we break the truce. A council was held upon this occasion; and the Duke of Limburg, who commands here for the emperor, was of opinion to begin the war again; but it was argued, that this would be a dangerous undertaking, with forces so much inferior to those of the Saracens; and that withal it was not very honourable to break a treaty which had been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. Those of the council, who were of the Duke's sentiments, replied that the pope having in general excommunicated all such of the crusade as did not actually repair to the Holy Land, though he knew very well, that the truce was to last two years longer, it was plain, that the visible head of the church did not expect that they should keep it. Hereupon they have resolved to march to Jerusalem; and in order to come the easier at it, and to facilitate the conquest of that capital, they have determined to secure Cesarea and Jaffa, the fortifications of which were afterwards to be rebuilt.

The letter ended with very pressing instances for new succours. The pope inserted a copy of it in one of his letters, which he addressed to all the christian world, bearing date December 23d, 1227; from whence it is no difficult matter to conclude, that it was his intention they should break the truce that had been made with the infidels.

In the mean time, he continued thundering against the emperor with more animosity than zeal; he even excommunicated him 1228. afresh upon Maunday Thursday: But March 23. the Roman barons, and all the people, scandalized at the pope's passion, and to see him

treat a christian emperor, and king of the Romans, in so shameful a manner, took up arms in his favour.

The pontiff, who saw with pain, that he was not master in the capital of the christian world, retired to Perugia with all his court. The emperor was not satisfied with only driving him out of Rome. That prince, cruel and revengeful in his nature, used great severities towards all whom he thought attached to the pope. The hospitallers and templars, devoted to the interests of the holy see, suffered cruel persecutions from the emperor's officers in the dominions that he possessed in Italy*; they turned these knights, under various pretences, out of the lands which they possessed, took all from them, even to their very slaves, and plundered their houses. The emperor did not stop here; but, to make the pope feel the weight of his resentment, he sent troops into his territories, who ravaged Marca d'Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as if he had a mind to insult the power of the keys, he made use, in this expedition, of Sarazen soldiers his subjects in Sicily, that their incredulity might make them proof against excommunication.

This we learn from a letter of the pope's directed to the bishops of Apulia: "That we might not seem, says the pontiff, to compliment men to the prejudice of the church's interest, we have publicly excommunicated the emperor Frederic for not going to the Holy Land, or supplying the money and troops he had promised, and for stripping the hospitallers and templars of their possessions in the kingdom of Sicily. We followed this excommunication with a general interdict upon all churches, where he shall offer to assist at divine service; and if, notwithstanding

* Tum etiam quia templarios et hospitalarios bonis mobilibus, et immobilibus quæ habebant in regno, temere spoliabant, Rain. ad an. 1228.

"our just inhibition, he does assist there, we shall proceed anew against him, as against a declared heretic. In fine, if he continues to despise the censures of the church, we shall absolve all those that have sworn fidelity to him of their oath, particularly his subjects in Sicily, because, according to the sentiments of Pope Urban II. we are not obliged to keep faith with those that oppose God and his saints, and despise their commands." A maxim directly opposite to that of Jesus Christ, who said, "That his kingdom was not of this world, and that we must render to Cesar the things that be Cesar's."

Yet, whether the emperor feared the consequences of these threats, or was apprehensive that John de Brienne, who had made only a forced abdication of the crown of Jerusalem, might get before him, and re-establish himself on the throne of Palestine, he resolved at last to set out upon his voyage thither. But before he embarked, to hinder the pope from taking any advantage of his absence, he wrote him word, that he had left full powers with Rinaldo duke of Spoleto, to make an amicable determination of all differences between them. The pope was far from approving a voyage, that seemed to render the excommunication null; and therefore wrote back to him, that he expected he should not cross the sea as one of the crusade, till he was absolved from the censures of the church. But the emperor, not regarding this prohibition, embarked at Brundisium, and arrived happily in the port of St. John d'Acre, on September 8th, A. D. 1228.

The patriarch with his clergy, the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars at the head of their knights, the magistrates, and all the nobility and gentry then in Acre, went to receive him at landing, with all the marks of respect due to his dignity. But orders coming afterwards from the

the pope to the patriarch, to denounce him publicly excommunicated, with an express injunction to the military orders not to obey him *, brother Guerin de Montaigu, grand master of the hospitalers, and the grand master of the templars acting by concert, refused openly to join the army, if the emperor gave the word of command in it †. Tho' this prince had but eight hundred horse, and ten thousand foot, yet he took the field, and advanced towards Jaffa, the fortifications of which they had resolved should be rebuilt before they engaged in the siege of Jerusalem. The emperor, besides these troops, was likewise followed by the Teutonic knights, who, being his subjects, did not think themselves obliged to pay any deference to the pope's orders. The hospitalers and templars, though they would not join the body of the army, followed at a distance, for fear the Christians 1228. should fall into some ambuscade of the Sarazens. The emperor being very sensible how necessary their succour was to him, thought it best to dissemble a little in such a juncture. He consented to a negotiation; and after several expedients had been proposed, it was agreed, that, without mentioning the name of the emperor, the council of war should issue out orders in the name of God and of Christendom ‡; and after this precaution, which the knights thought themselves obliged to take, upon account of the pope's orders, they joined the army which marched without opposition to Jaffa, and restored the fortifications of the place.

* Prohibenter quoque hospitalarii, templarii et Alamanni illi attendere, vel in aliquo obedire. Idem lib. 3 pat 11. c. 12. p. 213.

† Chron. de Nangis. ad. an. 1252. ex. Spicil. tom. 11. p. 521.

‡ Magistri hospitalis sancti Joannis et templi responderunt, quia a summo pontifice, et cui obedire volebant, erant prohibiti ei obsequi vel parere, pro utilitate tamen terræ et populi christiani parati erant juxta alios pergere, dummodo præcepta vel banna ex parte sua nullatenus proclamarentur. Sanut ibid.

After

After the emperor's departure, Rinaldo moved for an audience of the pope to treat of peace ; but the pontiff refused to hear him : so Rinaldo continued to make war upon the pope's subjects, pillaging the open country, and taking towns ; and it is reported, that in the heat of action, and the transport that attends the carrying of places sword in hand, some priests and clergymen were killed, others maimed, and several hanged.

“ The emperor, says the pope in one of his letters written to Cardinal Romanus, makes use of the Sarazens, his subjects, to destroy the houses of the hospitallers and templars, who have hitherto preserved what is left of the Holy Land with their blood *.” He adds, that the templars having, upon a certain occasion, recovered, by force of arms, the effects belonging to them, which the Sarazens had carried off, a lieutenant of the emperor's came up, wrested them out of their hands by main force, and gave them back to the infidels : “ For, continues the pope, those knights, so brave in their persons, and so terrible to the Sarazens, profess by their institution, never to draw their swords against Christians †. This lieutenant moreover turned them out of their houses, and took from them an hundred infidel slaves, which the two orders had in the convents of the two Sicilies : it looks as if his design was to destroy the two orders, or at least to reduce them to depend for the future entirely upon the emperor.”

The pope, to oppose something more terrible to the emperor than excommunications and manifestos,

* Christianis odium exhibit manifestum ad exterminandas domus hospitalis et fratrum militiæ templi, per quas reliquæ Terræ Sanctæ hætenus sunt observatæ. Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1228, p. 348. et 349.

† Iplis non audentibus juxta ordinis sui instituta, manum armatam contra Christianos erigere. Matt. Paris, p. ibid.

levied two armies, putting at the head of the first John de Brienne, whom the emperor had forced to abdicate the crown of Jerusalem; the counts of Celano and Roger d'Aquila, subjects of Frederic, but rebels against him, and protected by the pope, commanded the other; and in this war, the leaders of both parties committed unspeakable cruelties, as if the pope's soldiers were afraid of being outdone in inhumanity by the Sarazens in the emperor's army.

Thomas Daquin, one of the emperor's lieutenants, did not fail to give him advice of it. "The

" pope's troops, says he in his letter, * burn
1229. " villages, carry off the cattle, imprison

" the inhabitants, and oblige them, by
" force of torments, to ransom themselves. There

" is no sort of cruelty but they exercise it on your
" subjects, without considering that they commit

" all these violences in the territories of a christian
" emperor, who is actually in arms for the defence

" of the Holy Land. All the clergy of the empire
" cry out, and demand with what conscience the

" common father of Christians can make war on
" the first prince in Christendom; and whether he

" has forgot that when St. Peter was drawing his
" sword, our Lord ordered him to put it up in

" the scabbard, saying, whoever smiteth with the
" sword, shall perish by the sword. They are a

" stonished too, how a person, that excommunicates
" robbers and incendiaries every day, can now

" thunder out the censures of the church against
" the king of the Romans. Take proper measures,

" sit, for the security of your people, and without
" of your own person; for John de Brienne, who

" refuses you the august title of emperor, has ships
" in readiness in most of the ports of Italy, to sur-

" prize you in your return."

* Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 353.

The emperor had advice afterwards, by other letters, that the pope's generals, after driving the imperialists out of Marca d'Ancona, had forced them to retire into the kingdom of Naples; that they had seized St. Germans, and most of the other towns in that kingdom, as far as Capua. That the pontiff's emissaries had prevailed with several towns * in Lombardy to take up arms in his favour; that this new alliance made war upon such other places as still preserved their allegiance to the empire, and that the pope had sent a legate in their army, who directed all the steps of it. This was the source of the two factions so remarkable in history by the name of Guelphs and Gibelins; the first of which declared for the popes, and the other ranged themselves under the banner of the empire.

Frederic, enraged at this news, and regarding the pope no longer under any other notion than that of his mortal enemy, resolved to return in all haste for Italy, to defend his own dominions. But that he might quit Palestine with some shew of honour, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that his person was not safe, and that the hospitallers and templars, at the pope's instigation, were endeavouring to deliver him up to the Sarazens. This Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, relates, with more particular circumstances, and says, that † the inhabitants of the Holy Land, and especially the templars and hospitallers instigated by the devil and the father of discord, and urged by the revengeful spirit of the pope, gave secret advice to the sultan of Egypt, that the emperor was to go, out of devotion, to bathe in the river Jordan, and that he would perform the journey on foot, and

* Milan, Verona, Piacenza, Vercelli, Lodi, Alexandria, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Turin, Novara, Mantua, Brescia, Bologna et Faenza.

† Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1229. p. 358.

with a small retinue, so that he might easily dispatch him, or at least seize his person: That the sultan, upon receipt of this letter, the seal of which he knew, conceived an utter abhorrence of the perfidiousness of these knights, and that, far from making any use of it, that prince generously sent the letter to the emperor, who had already received several intimations of this traiterous design; that his Imperial majesty dissembled his knowledge of it, till a proper time came to revenge the injury; and that this was the true reason of the hatred he shewed afterwards to these two military orders. It must nevertheless be owned *, adds Matthew Paris, that the templars were more blamed for this piece of treachery than the knights of St. John.

However that be, as the emperor wanted only a pretext of quitting the Holy Land without dishonour to himself, he entered privately into a negotiation with the sultan of Egypt for a truce, which was concluded for ten years. He published afterwards the conditions of it, which consisted chiefly, as he said, in the restitution of Jerusalem, which the sultan gave up to the emperor, with the cities Bethlehem, Nazareth, Thoron and Sidon; allowing him likewise the liberty of repairing the fortifications of these places, and of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; which city was left entirely to his disposal, except the temple, which, with the court and inclosure about it, was to remain in the hands of the infidels, with the privilege of the free exercise of their religion in it.

This treaty being executed, a great number of christian families, upon the emperor's word, returned to Jerusalem. Some monks, and even nuns, drawn by the holiness of the place, took possession

* Veruntamen hospitalarii minorem notam infamiae super hoc facto contraxerunt. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 357.

again of their convents, and began to repair them *. But it was not long before they discovered the illusion of the treaty which had nothing real in it but a design of amusing the Christians of the east, and imposing on those of the west †. For the emperor, instead of raising again the fortifications of the towns, which he pretended were yielded to him, though this was necessary to secure the possession of them to the Latin Christians, rejected with contempt the offers made him by the hospitallers and templars, of contributing to put those places in a condition of defence: So they continued still dismantled, and consequently in the power of the infidels, who were then masters of the field, with forces infinitely superior to those of the Christians; and the emperor having acted, as we may say, this comedy in the east, embarked in 1229. the month of May, and arrived happily in his kingdom of Sicily.

The war resumed a new vigour from the emperor's presence. That prince, who was a great soldier, carried it on with better success than the pope's generals; he drove them out of most of the places they had seized in his absence. John de Brienne likewise quitted the command of the army of the holy see, and returned into France to prepare for his voyage to Constantinople, whither he had been invited after Robert de Courtenay's death, to take care of the empire. The pope, despairing to get the better of his enemy by temporal arms, had recourse to spiritual ones, which he managed with much better success; and, after renewing the excommunication against the emperor, he added this clause to it: "And forasmuch as that prince, out

* Vide epist. Geroldi patriarch. Hier. idem ibid.

† Sibi fratribus templi et hospitalis presentantibus solemniter et instanter, quod si vellet firmare, sicut promiserat, civitatem, ipsi ei quantum possunt consilium et auxilium ad consociendum compararent. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 359.

“ of a visible contempt of excommunication, has
 “ made no step of submission to our orders, we
 “ declare all his subjects absolved of their oath of
 “ fidelity to him.” A terrible attempt, which authorized the revolt of all that were malecontent. The emperor, in fact, was so terrified with it, that he used the interest of several cardinals, and divers prelates, whom he caused to come express out of Germany, to bring the pope to a better temper. The negotiation lasted almost a year; and the vanquished prescribed terms to the victorious side. The emperor, before he could obtain peace, was
 1230. obliged to swear that he would submit to the pope’s orders, without any exception. He was absolved upon this condition; and, among other articles, extorted from that prince, it was said, that he should, within the time prescribed him by the church, repair all the damages he had done to the orders of the hospitallers and templars; that he should pay the charge of the war, and reimburse the holy father all the money he had been obliged to furnish for the defence of the patrimony of St. Peter. *

The emperor, to get rid of the excommunication, whereof he dreaded the consequences, subscribed to all these conditions, and executed them, particularly with regard to the hospitallers and templars. But that prince, retaining always a keen resentment against those two orders, had no sooner received his absolution, than, under one pretext or other, he began to persecute them again. Henry de Maura, lord chief justice of the kingdom of Sicily, on both sides the Faro di Messina, sequestered all their effects and possessions; and, upon their complaints, the pope sent a nuncio to Frederic, to demand satisfaction of him for those violent proceedings.
 1231. If you really wish, as you are ob-

* Rain. ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 405. n. 9.

† Idem ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 413.

"bliged to do, says the pontiff to him in his
 "brief, that the affairs of the Holy Land may
 "go on prosperously, far from persecuting the
 "hospitallers and templars, you ought to give
 "your imperial protection to two orders, that,
 "with infinite trouble, and continual fatigues, and
 "in the midst of a thousand dangers, to which
 "they are daily exposed, support that tottering
 "state; and it is the most effectual means to ren-
 "der you both acceptable in the sight of God, and
 "honourable in the esteem of men:" And the
 pontiff concludes his letter with conjuring him, in
 the most pressing terms, to restore the effects and
 possessions that had been so unjustly taken from
 the hospitallers of St. John and the templars. Fre-
 deric received the nuncio well, and promised to
 have a great regard to the pope's recommendation;
 but instead of that; though he was only the sub-
 altern sovereign of the isle, he renewed his perse-
 cutions; and, to revenge himself on such of his
 Sicilian subjects, as, during his excommunication,
 had declared in favour of the pope; the lord in
 whom the direct dominion was vested, and supreme
 sovereign of that kingdom, he obliged them to put
 on the cross; and, by a sort of banishment, which
 he cloaked with the pretence of religion, and that
 of succouring the Holy Land, he sent them away
 thither; without ever allowing them to come back,
 or return into their country; even after they had
 accomplished their pilgrimage.

The order of St. John, still suffering under the
 persecution of that prince, lost, this year,
 their grand-master Guerin de Montaigu, a 1230.
 gentleman of noble extraction in the pro-
 vince of Auvergne, but who by his virtues added
 a greater lustre to his family than he derived from
 it. The knights of St. John, assembling in chapter, chose, in his stead,
 brother Bertrand de Taxis, who,

BERTRAND
 DE TEXIS.

B b 2

following

following the steps of his predecessor, applied himself as closely to the affairs of the state, as to the government of the order.

Palestine, which, from the time of John de Brienne's abdication, had been deprived of the presence of its sovereign, was, like a ship without a pilot, tossed continually by new tempests, and must infallibly have perished, without the constant succour of the hospitallers and templars. I say nothing of the Teutonic knights, because since A.D. 1226, the greatest part of them were gone into Prussia; the inhabitants of which, being idolaters, had entered into a barbarous war against the Christians their neighbours, massacred the priests at the foot of the altars, and put the sacred vessels to profane uses. Conrad duke of Mazovia called in the Teutonic knights to his assistance, and, for a beginning of a settlement, gave them the whole territory of Culm, with all the lands they could conquer from the infidels. Herman de Salza, * master of the order, deputed one of his knights, named Conrad de Lansberg, to conclude this treaty, which was signed by three bishops of the country, Gonther of Mazovia, Michael of Cujavia, and Christian of Prussia. Hereupon the Teutonic knights went into those northern provinces, where, in a continued

series of wars, they acquired successively an entire sovereignty to themselves, the royal and ducal Prussia, Livonia and the duchies of Courland, and Semigallen, all provinces of a vast extent, and sufficient to form a great kingdom.

From what we have now said it appears, that the defence of the Holy Land was left only in the hands of the hospitallers and templars. The emperor indeed, who was very sensible that that little state could not support itself, had, before his departure, promised the two grand masters, and the

* Dussburg, chron, Pruss. part 2. c. 1. p. 28.

principal lords of the country, that he would, at his return home, send a considerable body of troops thither, and maintain them at his own expence. He gave his word likewise to send thither prince Conrad his son, to whom the kingdom of Jerusalem belonged in right of the empress Yolant his mother, daughter to John de Brienne, and the princess Mary. But that prince, being, at his return, taken up with the design of establishing the imperial authority over all Italy, reserved his whole force for the execution of that great project, and seemed to have entirely forgot the interests of Palestine. The princess Alice, half sister by the mother's side to queen Mary, being, as well as the latter, the issue of queen Isabel of Jerusalem, and at this time widow of Hugh de Lusignan king of Cyprus, passed into Syria, in hopes of making an advantage of the emperor's absence at such a distance, and demanded the crown of Jerusalem *. But whatever ill-treatment the two military orders had received from the emperor, the two grand masters opposed the pretensions of this princess, and told her, that nothing but prince Conrad's death or voluntary abdication, could give her any right to the crown. The emperor having advice of these notions, and fearing least the queen dowager of Cyprus should at last gain over the two orders to her interests, sent a body of German troops into Palestine, and put over them as his lieutenant Richard Fitz Auger marshal of his army. This general, landing at Acre, instead of mild and pacifying measures, and instead of endeavouring to render his master's government and his own authority agreeable to the inhabitants of the town, and the 1232, lords of the country, treated them with excessive rigour, laid upon them imposts unheard of before in Palestine, and taxed the richest citizens †.

* Sanut, l. 3. c. 13. p. 214.

† Idem, lib. 3. part. 11. c. 13. p. 214.

He deprived some of their estates, harassed others, and treated them all as he would have treated infidels in a conquered country. The inhabitants and principal nobility, after enduring, for four or five years together, all the oppressions that avarice, supported by absolute power, could lay upon them, having lost their patience as well as their effects, and, being left without any resource but their courage, ran to arms, drove the Germans out of the town, and obliged them to take refuge in Tyre, the only place they had left, where John d'Hybelin, Lord of Berytus, and Jassa, at the head of the gentry, prepared to besiege them.

The emperor, surprized and alarmed at this news, had recourse to the pope's authority, desiring him to exert it in his favour, with the grand master de Taxis, and the knights of St. John:

And to regain the esteem and confidence
1238. of that order, which he had persecuted so long, he put the knights again in possession of all the effects and estates he had so unjustly taken from them.

The pope, at this prince's instance, sent the archbishop of Ravenna to the Holy Land, as legate of the holy see, and gave him very pressing letters to the grand master, and council of the order, wherein he exhorted them to use their prudence, and the authority they had in Palestine, to quiet these disturbances. The grand master, upon receipt of the pope's brief, exerted himself to the utmost for a reconciliation. By his own conduct, supported with the power of his order, he brought matters to bear, and re-established the emperor's authority in St. John d'Acre, and the other towns of Palestine.

The forces of the Latin Christians being considerably weakened in the Holy Land, by a victory which the sultan of Aleppo gained about that time over the templars, the grand master of the hospitallers

tallers sent his summons, and drew a great number of knights from the west. There went, says Matthew Paris, from the hospitallers 1239. house of Clerkenwell in London, a great number of knights with banners displayed, preceded by brother Theodric their prior, a German by nation, who set out for the Holy Land, at the head of a considerable body of troops in their pay. These knights, says he, passing over London-bridge, saluted, with their capuce in hand, all the inhabitants that crowded to see them pass, and recommended themselves to their prayers *.

Whilst the order was drawing out of England this succour for the Holy Land, it furnished the Christian kings of Spain, who were continually at war against the Moors of the country, with a much more considerable one. Don James, the first of the name, king of Arragon, having driven the Moors out of the isles of Majorca and Minorca, undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Valentia. He fitted out a strong fleet, and his land army consisted of above sixty thousand men. The power of the kings of Arragon never made so formidable an appearance before. This mighty force did not discourage Zael king of Valentia, the bravest of all the princes of the Moors: but as he had not an army strong enough to keep the field against that of Don James, he threw himself into his capital. The Christians soon invested the place: He made a gallant defence; and, though besieged both by sea and land, the king of Arragon could not gain an inch of ground, but what cost him the bravest of his soldiers. The Moors made frequent sallies, in which there was always much bloodshed. The success of the siege grew every day more and more doubtful: Don James, seeing his troops di-

* *Fratres vero, inclinatis capitibus, hinc et inde caputis depositis, se omnium precibus commendarunt.* Matth. Paris, ad ann. 1237. P. 444.

minish, called in the Hospitallers of St. John to his succour. Brother Hugh de Forcalquier, castellan of Emposta, and lieutenant to the grand master, arrived in the camp at the head of a considerable number of Spanish knights; and, to make this succour the more serviceable, he had reinforced them with two thousand foot levied, at his own expence, among the vassals of the order.

It was no little satisfaction to the king to see him arrive so well attended. The siege soon put on a new face. A laudable emulation ran through the Christian army. The knights distinguished themselves as usual by their intrepidity, and carried several advanced works sword in hand. Zael, straitened by the loss of these posts, shut himself up in the heart of the town. He held out there for some time longer; but, pressed at length by want of provisions, and having lost the choicest of his garrison, he capitulated, and surrendered the place to the king of Arragon. The rest of the kingdom followed the example of the capital; every thing fell before the power of the conqueror, and the crown of Valentia was united to that of Arragon. Don James publicly acknowledged, that he owed this important conquest to the valour of the hospitallers. He recompensed them, like a liberal and generous prince, with the town of Cerviera, and all its dependencies, with Afcola, Alcocever, and the plain of St. Matthew, all which he gave in absolute property to the order.

But recompenses of so considerable a value, and which served as a testimony of their valour, excited afterwards the envy and indignation of the neighbouring bishops; for the castellan of Emposta receiving orders from the grand master, whose lieutenant he was in Arragon, and in the principality of Catalonia, to make a detachment from thence of the servants and vassals of the order, for the peopling of those towns, which were then full of infidel

infidel inhabitants; and this colony setting up the cross, and refusing, in virtue of their ancient privileges, to submit to the payment of tythes, they were strangely surpris'd to hear, that the bishops instead of lending their assistance for the conversion of the Moors that were left in those places, had laid a general interdict upon all the country granted to the order by the king of Arragon.

It was not without great indignation that the pope received the news of this invasion of the privileges granted to that military order by so many of his predecessors. He immediately took off that unjust interdict; because, according to the bulls of the sovereign pontiffs, the order was subject to no jurisdiction but that of the holy see, and he made a decree, with severe penalties annexed to it, that no one for the future should disturb the subjects of an order, the members whereof employed their fortunes and lives only for the defence of Christendom.

Yet, in contempt of this solemn prohibition, the bishop of St. John d'Acre began a fresh dispute with the knights of the east, upon the subject of the right of tythes, under pretence, that since the loss of Jerusalem, and the settlement of the order in St. John d'Acre they had acquired in that city, and in other parts of his diocese, several kinds of possessions, that did not belong to the order from the first times of its foundation. This prelate kept his design and measures secret; and, under a quite different pretence, made a voyage and waited upon the pope. He represented to him, that the hospitallers, by means either of their conquests or acquisitions, swallowed up all the revenues of the bishops. He revived, at the same time, the bitter complaints that Foulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem, had made to Adrian IV. on account of the interdicts and burials before mentioned; and he concluded with beseeching his holiness, to publish an explanation

explanation of his predecessor's bulls, agreeable to the rights of bishops, and such as might serve to limit the privileges of the knights.

The pope referred the examination of these grievances to cardinal James de Pécoraria, to whom that pontiff had committed the affairs of Palestine. The bishop of Acre laid before him a long memorial of these grievances, in which the order of St. John was treated with no great tenderness. The cardinal communicated it to brother Andrew de Foggia, who resided then at the court of Rome, as procurator general of the hospitallers. That knight maintained the interests of his order with a proper zeal, and shewed plainly, that the bishop of Acre, under pretence of new grievances, did nothing but revive the old pretensions of the clergy of Palestine, that had been rejected in the assembly of Ferentino. The pope, upon the cardinal's report of the case, referred the judgement of it to the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Tyre, and the abbot of St. Samuel d'Acre. The bishop could not have wished for judges that were less exceptionable; yet these prelates, though interested in the affair, being with all justly sensible, that they subsisted themselves only by the succour of these knights, obliged their colleague to desist from his pretensions.

I know not whether it be to this prelate, or any other enemy of the order, that we are to ascribe the account given the pope about this time, that the hospitallers gave themselves up to shameful irregularities, and that a Greek and schismatical prince, who was actually at war with the Latins, was assisted by them with arms and horses. Gregory IX. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, a pontiff of a warm and fiery disposition, wrote immediately about it to the grand master, and the whole order, in terms dictated by a furious zeal. The exactness, which the duty of a faithful histori-

an requires, does not allow me to pass over his brief in silence, especially since it is recited at length by the annalist of the church.

"We have heard with grief, says the pope, that you keep in your houses women of a loose life, and live disorderly with them; that you are no longer exact in observing your vow of poverty; and that some particular persons among you enjoy great estates in property; that, in consideration of an annual retribution, you protect, without distinction, all that are admitted into your confraternity; that, under this pretence, your houses serve for an asylum to robbers, murderers, and heretics; that, in opposition to the interest of the Latin princes, you have furnished arms and horses to Vatacius, an enemy of God and the church: that you daily retrench something of your ordinary alms; that you alter the wills of such as die in your hospital, not without suspicion of forgery; that you allow no persons that are there to confess to any priests, but those of your order, or such as you give salaries to. It is alledged likewise, adds the sovereign pontiff, that many of your brethren are suspected of heresy."

The pope, at the end of this brief, exhorts the grand master to correct these great abuses, allowing him, for that end, only three months time; and if it be not done within that term, by the same brief, which bears date March 13th 1258, he orders the archbishop of Tyre, to repair to the head-house of the order, and, in virtue of the apostolical authority, to set up about an immediate reformation of that great body of military friars, as well in the head as in the members.

It is not a little surprising, after the honourable testimony that Andrew king of Hungary, an eye-witness, had, in 1218, given of the virtue of these knights, that we find, in this pontiff's briefs, such

grievous

grievous reproaches against the order. Perhaps they might arise from the hatred and calumny of their enemies : perhaps too, and it is probable, the pope would not have made such a stir about them, if he were not convinced of their irregularities. So extraordinary a change in their houses, if it be true, should make the holiest and most austere societies tremble, when they reflect, that they may, in less than twenty years, degenerate from their primitive regularity, and fall into the most terrible disorders.

Whatever be the case, as to the truth or falsehood of these accusations, it is certain, that in the same age, and under the same pontificate, the spirit of mortification and charity still made an eminent figure among the hospitallers, and several of the knights of those times are even now honoured as saints.

Such are the blessed Hugh, Gerard Mecati of Villamagna, Gerland of Poland, all hospitallers of the order of St. John, who lived in that age, and deserved to be canonized in the opinion, and by the anticipated suffrages of the christian world.

The blessed Hugh, preceptor or commander of the commandry of Genoa, devoted himself to the service of the poor and pilgrims in the hospital under his direction. The verbal process of his life, drawn up after his death by Otho de Fieschi, archbishop of Genoa, upon express orders from Pope Gregory IX, says, that his life was one continual penance, attended with fervent prayers, and a boundless charity to the poor and pilgrims. According to the archbishop's account, he never eat meat ; his fast lasted the whole year round, Sundays only excepted. He always wore a long hair-shirt, tied upon his flesh with an iron chain ; a table served him for his bed, and he placed it in a grotto below the hospital on the side towards the sea. He passed the whole of the day, either in

prayer, or in attendance on the sick; and if any pilgrims came in, he washed their feet, and kissed them with profound humility. It was in a continual practice of these virtues, that the blessed Hugh finished at last the sacrifice of himself.

The blessed Gerard Mecati lived almost at the same time. He was born at Villamagna, a town about three or four miles from the famous city of Florence. He entered himself early in the order of hospitallers, as a serving brother, and discharged all the duties of his place with an ardent zeal and charity towards the poor. Having passed part of his life in the hospitals of the order, a desire of greater perfection, and the love of retirement and solitude, made him procure the permission of his superiors, to end his days in a desert. He shut himself up in a poor cottage, without any cloaths, but a long hair cloth, or any food, but herbs and wild fruits. Paul Mimi, in his treatise of the gentry of Florence, speaks of the blessed Gerard in these terms: "Gerard Mecati, a native of Villamagna, was a serving brother in the illustrious order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and we may justly call him a second Hilarion." It was about A. D, 1242, that this pious hermit ended his days, and was translated to the society of the saints.

Brother Gerland of Poland, others say of Germany, knight of the order, who lived at the same time, was no less illustrious for his piety than his valour. He spent part of his life in war against the infidels. His superiors sent him afterwards in the retinue of the emperor Frederic II. to take care of the interests of the order. He soon became an example to all the court; and, having acquitted himself of his post to the grand master's satisfaction, he retired, with his permission, to the commandery of Calatagirona, where he spent the rest of his days leading a life truly angelical. I shall not insist on



his application to prayers, or his continual austerities, I shall confine myself entirely to the virtues of his condition, and those of a true hospitaller. He was a father to the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator, and amicable compounder of all differences ; all which examples prove, that at that time the spirit of charity and love of mortification were not extinct in the order, as an unknown informer would have persuaded the pope. As for that pontiff's reproaching the hospitallers with having supplied a Greek Prince called Vatacius with arms and horses. I can scarce find any better grounds for this than for the other accusations, with which some have endeavoured to blacken their character. All that the pope says of this Vatacius, whom in his brief he styles an enemy of God and the church, depends on a train of events, which, with regard to the history I am writing, it may be proper to clear up.

At the time of the last revolution and disturbance at Constantinople, which occasioned the taking of that capital of the empire by the troops of the crusade, some Greek princes, descended most of them from imperial houses, to avoid submitting to the authority of the Latins, retired into different provinces of the empire, cantoned themselves there, and set themselves up for sovereigns. Isaac, or as others call him, Alexis, Comnenus went to found a new empire on the borders of Cappadocia and Colchis, the city of Trebizund, situated on the Black Sea, being made the capital of it. The Princess Michael, and Theodore Comneni seized on the empire and Albania ; and Theodoro Lasca-
ris, the most potent and formidable of them all, after having conquered the greatest part of Bithynia, defeated the Turcomans that were in possession of it, and killed the Sultan of Iconium in battle, with his own hand. He assumed the imperial or-
naments

naments at Nice, with the title of Emperor, which he left to John Ducas his son in law, surnamed Vatacius; which would make one suspect, that this prince was descended of the imperial house of Ducas only by the female side.

Excepting the point of schism, he was one of the greatest princes of his age, wise, vigilant, and indefatigable, always mindful of events, and on the watch to observe the state and disposition of the kingdoms adjoining to his own. All these provinces afforded him so many enemies. He looked upon the possessors of them, whether Christians or Mahometans, as usurpers; but, wise in the ordering of his designs, he took his measures so well, that he never had but one enemy at a time to oppose. He scarce ever wanted pretences to make war, and, if he did not carry it on with success, he was still less at a loss for means to bring about a peace. Thus to prevent the pope's sending of succours to the Latin emperors of Constantinople, he effected a great zeal for the union of the Greek church with the Latin, and carried the matter so far, as to have conferences held upon the subject in his own palace, wherein he assisted himself, and to encourage a complying and reconciling temper, assumed the character of a disinterested mediator. It was by such a politic conduct, as much as by his valour, that, after driving the Latin emperors out of Asia Minor, he carried his arms into Europe, and advanced to attack them in the very centre of the empire.

Such was the famous Vatacius, with whom the hospitallers were accused of holding correspondence. But if we reflect that this Greek prince was often engaged against the same infidels, with whom the knights of St. John were continually at war, why should it be thought strange, that in a common cause, and as allies, they should assist that prince with horses and arms: besides, as the hospitallers

had some houses in Constantinople, I do not see how it can be imputed to them as a crime, that they kept some measures with so powerful a prince, who was on the point of making himself master of that capital of the empire.

That empire, of which the princes of the crusade had made so glorious a conquest, had, from the very moment of their gaining it, lost much of its ancient grandeur and power. Besides the isles of the Archipelago, of which the Venetians and Genoese had made themselves masters, we have seen, that the marquis of Montferrat, for his share of the conquest, had Thessaly and the adjoining provinces erected into a kingdom, and that the Greek princes had quartered out, and dismembered that unfortunate empire.

Baldwin, the first Latin emperor, was no sooner acknowledged as such, than, impatient to signalize his accession to that great dignity, he formed the siege of Adrianople, the inhabitants whereof had made an insurrection. Joanitze, king of the Bulgarians and Walachians, who had revolted from the Greek empire, a prince of great valour, but cruel and barbarous, fearing the emperor might attack him in his turn, advanced to the relief of the besieged. He was at the head of a numerous army, composed of the Bulgarians and Walachians his subjects, besides some Greeks, and even Turcomans that he had in his pay. Baldwin, upon his approach, raised the siege, advanced to meet him, and gave him battle. His troops broke through all before them: Baldwin, fired with courage, and transported with the hopes of victory, inconsiderately abandoned himself to the pursuit of an enemy, that fled with art, and only to draw him into an ambuscade. The new emperor of Constantinople, too far advanced before the body of his army, was surrounded at once by the Bulgarians and Walachians, who, cutting the troops that had been able

to follow him in pieces, took him prisoner. Joannitze kept him for some time in a dungeon, loaded with irons; and when at last he took him out, it was only to put him to a barbarous death. After ordering his legs and arms to be cut off, they threw the unfortunate prince into a valley, where he lived three days exposed as a prey to the wild beasts, who fed upon him.

Prince Henry his brother succeeded him, and governed the empire with various success for the space of ten years. He is said to have been poisoned by the Greeks. This prince dying, like his elder brother, without issue, left the crown to Peter de Courtenay his brother-in-law, a prince of the blood royal of France. This new emperor, going to Constantinople, and passing through the dominions of Theodore Comnenus, by virtue of a treaty of alliance made with that prince, was seized in the mountains of Albania, and the perfidious Greek put him to death. The crown descended of right to Philip count of Namur, eldest son to the emperor Peter; but that young prince, in all probability, preferring a quiet principality, and a sure dominion, to a tottering throne, and the empty title of emperor, resigned his right to prince Robert his brother, who arrived at Constantinople at the latter end of the year 1220. He had all his reign two formidable enemies to encounter, John Ducas, and Theodore Comnenus, the cruel murderer of the emperor his father; who, without acting in concert, took from him, each on his respective side, most of the places that covered Constantinople. A third enemy, and a much more dangerous one than the two former, rose up to complete his misfortunes. There was in Constantinople a young lady of admirable beauty, originally of the province of Artois, and daughter to Baldwin de Neuville, a knight that was present at the taking of Constantinople. This lady was on the point of being married to a young Burgundian lord,

lord, with whom she was already contracted. Her relations presenting her to the emperor for his consent to the marriage, the young prince was smitten with her singular beauty, a violent passion seized him, and, though he was sensible that young Neuville was engaged to a lord of his court, yet, having no other way to make himself easy, he resolved to marry her. The mother and daughter, dazzled on the other hand with the lustre of a crown, slighted their first engagements, and the mother conducted her daughter to the emperor's bed. Sanut says expressly, that he was married to her. Baldwin d'Avesne seems on the contrary to insinuate, that the prince enjoyed her on easier terms. Be that as it will, the Burgundian, that was to marry the young lady, did not hear of his misfortune till it was too late to prevent it. The injured lord calls together his relations and friends, and demands their assistance against a prince whom he called a tyrant. Those gentlemen all espouse his cause, and, with un amazing boldness, break into the palace by night, and seize the mother and daughter. The mother was put into a sack, and thrown into the sea, and the conspirators, after cutting off the nose and lips of the daughter, retired. The emperor flattered himself, that he should find the rest of the lords of his court ready to revenge so horrible an insolence; but, to his great surprize, he heard that some of them were actually concerned in it, and that the rest did not scruple to own, that they would have done as much, if they had suffered the like crying injustice. Robert, enraged to see himself despised by his subjects, and to meet with domestic enemies that surpassed barbarians and strangers in cruelty, took shipping for Italy. He was not without hopes of procuring a powerful succour from thence, and returning into his dominions at the head of an army, that would strike terror into his enemies, and command the respect of his

his subjects; but, after wandering through several countries, he died at last upon the road, through excess of grief, unable to survive the insolent and contemptuous manner in which they had treated him.

Never was the empire in so deplorable a condition: over run with divisions both within and without, and attacked on all sides by mighty enemies, it had no resource left, nor any successor in the Imperial throne, but the third son of Peter de Courtenay, called Baldwin II. a young prince, hardly nine or ten years old, and consequently incapable, by his age, to govern the state, especially in so terrible a juncture.

In this dismal situation, the French lords of Constantinople had recourse to John de Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, constituting him regent and protector of the empire; and, to engage him to undertake the government, they conferred upon him the very title of emperor, to enjoy it during his life, but without prejudice to the rights of the lawful heir, agreeable to an old custom used in France, where the tutors and guardians of young noblemen, in their minority, are stiled lords of their estates, and hold them as such of the supreme lords.

John de Brienne repaired to Constantinople, took upon him the government, repulsed and defeated the emperor Vatacius and Azen king of Bulgaria, who threatened Constantinople with a siege. But, as that prince was then above fourscore years old, the empire could not reap all the advantages they might have justly expected from his valour and long experience in the conduct of armies, if he had been less advanced in age. Every one's thoughts were now taken up with dismal presages of the short duration of the empire of the Latins. Young Baldwin himself was even obliged to travel into Italy, and other kingdoms of Christendom, with John de Bethune his governor, to implore succour.

cour. All Asia had their eyes fixed on the emperor Vatacius, a prince of the greatest power and abilities that had been for a long time upon the throne of the great Constantine. He wanted nothing in a manner but the capital, and it was not doubted but he would soon make himself master of that. The Christians, possessed with an high opinion of his valour, looked upon him as the only prince capable of maintaining them in Palestine. I know not whether the regard the hospitallers shewed that great prince, were imputed to these sentiments of esteem they had for him; but, certain it is, that the reproaches it drew upon the grand master from the pope, made so deep an impression on him, that he was inconsolable; and the miserable condition to which he saw the Holy Land reduced,

1240. without succour, without troops, and without a sovereign to command them, gave the finishing stroke to his life. *In his*

GUERIN. stead was chosen brother Guerin or Guarin, whose surname and country we are entirely ignorant of.

We only know, that he was intrusted with the government of the order in difficult times. Palestine was then destitute of its sovereign's presence, and in no subjection to his representatives. The hospitallers and templars, the whole force in a manner of the Holy Land, were likewise unluckily divided on account of some treaties which each of them had severally made with different infidel princes.

Thibaud V. of the name, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre in right of Blanche or Navarre his mother, made about that time an expedition into Palestine at the head of a crusade; but their ill success, and the loss of the battle of Gaza, obliged him afterwards to conclude a truce with Nazer emir of Carac. The templars were the persons that negotiated this treaty, which the king of Navarre

varre signed out of an impatient desire to return home; and those knights made likewise a league offensive and defensive with that infidel prince, against the sultan of Egypt, but the hospitallers refused to be comprehended or concerned in it, either because they found the treaty disadvantageous, or because, as they complained, the templars had carried on this negotiation without their knowledge or consent *.

The king of Navarre, receiving advice, that Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, was on the way, and expected every moment, embarked in great haste with the remains of his crusade, to prevent the English prince's being witness to his disgrace. Richard, upon his arrival, found, that the emir of Carac, who in some measure was dependent on the sovereign of Damascus, had it not in his power to maintain the truce. That prince, therefore, at the head of the crusade advanced immediately up to Jassa, where he gave audience to an envoy from the sultan of Egypt, then actually at war with the sultan of Damascus, who came to offer him another truce. Richard consented to it, with the concurrence of the duke of Burgundy, count Gaultier de Brienne, nephew to John de Brienne king of Jerusalem, the grand master of the templars, and part of the lords of the country; and it was stipulated by this treaty, that the infidel prince should order all the Mahometans out of Jerusalem that were settled in it; that he should restore Bethlehem, Nazareth, and several villages and castles, necessary to secure the road to the capital of Judea; that all prisoners should be released on both sides; and that the Christians should be at liberty to rebuild the fortifications of Jerusalem, and the other places yielded to them †. The English prince,

* Prædicta enim treuga procuracione templariorum firma est, hospitaliariorum minime interveniente consensu. SANCT. l. 3. p. 216.

† Lite: æ comitis Richardi, continentes summam suam peregrinationis. M. Paris in Hen. III. ad ann. 1241. p. 566. et 567.

though

though he did not perform any military exploits, yet concluded this treaty, which was no less useful, and was executed before his departure: but the templars, out of spleen to the hospitallers, refused, in their turn, to be comprehended in it; so that whilst two truces were on foot, the templars and hospitallers continued each in a state of war, the one against the sultan of Damascus, the other against the sultan of Egypt; and these dissensions would have been fatal to the state, if those sultans, and most of the descendents of Saladin and Safadin, had not been divided at the same time by civil wars. It was owing entirely to those intestine disturbances of theirs, that the Latin Christians saw themselves at last the masters and sole inhabitants of Jerusalem. The patriarch came back thither with all his clergy; the churches were reconsecrated; the holy sacraments were administered there, with infinite satisfaction to all that were present, and the grand master of the hospitallers carried the patriarch all the money that was in the treasury of the order, to contribute to rebuild the walls of the holy city.

The work, however, notwithstanding all the hands employed in it, advanced but slowly, and they had scarce thrown up some slight entrenchments, when Palestine was overflowed with a deluge of barbarians, called Corasmins. They were a people lately come out of Persia, and descended, as it is said, from the ancient Parthians; at least they inhabited their country called Yrac Agemy, or the Persian Hyrcania. Others place them in Couvarzem near Corasan; but it is a question, whether these Corasmins were not originally natives of the kingdom of Carisme, which Ptolemy calls Chorasmia, from whence these barbarians, being most of them shepherds, and without any fixed abode, might have passed into some of the provinces of Persia. However this be, they were involved in the famous

mous revolution, that happened twenty years before in the Higher Asia, which Genchizcan, the first emperor of the old Mogul Tartars, reduced under his power. Octay, son to Genchizcan, and successor to that conqueror, or else prince Keiouc his son, caan or great cham, others say, Tuly, Genchizcan's third son, who had Persia for his portion, being incensed against this people, who had killed some of his officers that were levying taxes of them, drove them out of his dominions.

These people, pagans by religion, cruel and brutal in their nature, and barbarians above all that ever bore the character, roved up and down in different countries, without being able to find any fixed and secure abode, or any prince that would suffer them in his territories *: odious to the Mahometans as well as Christians for their robberies and cruelties, they were looked upon as the common enemies of mankind. The sultan of Egypt, however †, to revenge himself on the templars for the league they had made with his enemies the sultans or emirs of Damascus, Carac, and Emeffa, advised Barbacan, chief and general of the Corasmins, to fall into Palestine, representing to him, that the conquest of it was easy ‡, the places dismantled, and open on all sides, that there were few troops in the country, and division among the leaders: he enforced these arguments with considerable presents, with the promise of a mighty succour, and an assurance of joining his army with a body of his own troops.

This was more than was necessary, to determine a savage and barbarous people, who were seeking, with the point of their swords, a 1243. country to inhabit, and had already penetrated into Mesopotamia ||. Barbacan marched

* Bibliothèque orientale. p. 1007.

† M. Paris ad ann. 1244. p. 618.

‡ Joinville vie de S. Louis. p. 98.

|| Saout. p. 17.

thence immediately, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and fell into Palestine before they had the least news of his expedition. But the cruelties of this nation, and their burning all before them, soon gave notice of their coming. Jerusalem was still open on all sides; the grand masters of the hospital and temple were then in it, but had scarce any troops with them. In this surprizing juncture, they thought they had nothing to do, but to convoy the inhabitants to Jaffa, a place fortified and in a condition of defence, and afterwards to take the field, and draw out all their forces to oppose the enterprises of the infidels. The inhabitants in general quitted Jerusalem, and followed the knights, except a small number, who were loth to leave their houses, and threw up hastily some weak intrenchments in such places as were most exposed. In the mean time, the Corasmins arrive, force these entrenchments, break into the city sword in hand, destroy all before them with fire and sword, without distinction either of age or sex; and, to deceive the Christians that were fled, they planted standards with the cross upon the towers. Those that were marched out before, having notice that the cross was still to be seen planted on the walls, felt an infinite regret for having abandoned their houses with such precipitation; and fancying that the barbarians had turned their arms another way, or had been repulsed by the Christians that were left in the city, they returned back thither in spite of all that the grand masters could say, and delivered themselves up to the fury of the barbarians, who put near seven thousand of them to the sword. A company of nuns, children and old men, who had run for shelter to the holy sepulchre, and the church of Calvary, were sacrificed in the very place where the Saviour of mankind was pleased to die for their salvation, and there was no sort of cruelty and

and profanation that these barbarians did not act in the holy city.

The templars in the mean time having advice, that a detachment of the sultan of Egypt's troops had joined them, called in the sultans of Damascus and Emeffa, who were his enemies, to their succour *. These infidels sent them four thousand horse, commanded by Mucha, one of their generals. The lords of the country, making their vassals and the militia take arms, joined the Christian army. There passed at first several skirmishes between the two parties, in which the Corasmins, though superior in number, lost more men than the Christians.

At last, by the patriarch's precipitation, contrary to the advice of the principal officers, they came to a general engagement. The Christian army was drawn up in three bodies. The grand master of the hospitallers, with the knights of his order, and sustained by Waller III. count of Jaffa, and nephew to king John, commanded the left wing: Moucha, at the head of the Turcomans, commanded the right, and the templars, with the militia of the country, were in the centre †. They fought on both sides with the same courage and inclination; but there was a vast inequality in their number. The Corasmins had ten to one, and, to make the disadvantage still greater, as soon as the armies were engaged, most of Moucha's troops, either out of cowardice or treachery, quitted their ranks, and fled.

The Christians, resolving either to vanquish or die, seemed not at all discouraged, nor gave ground on this occasion: the battle lasted two days: the knights of the two orders made prodigious efforts of valour, but at last their strength being quite

* Epist. Fred. Imperatoris. Matt. Paris in Hen. III. p. 618.

† Joinville, vie de S. Louis, par du Cange, p. 99.

spent, and overwhelmed with the multitude of the enemy, they were all in a manner either killed or taken prisoners: there escaped out of this general slaughter, only twenty six hospitallers; (some accounts say but sixteen) thirty three templars and three Teutonic knights: the two grand masters of the hospitallers and templars, and a commander of the Teutonics were killed at the head of their companies. The hospitallers not long after chose for

their grand master brother Bertrand
BERTRAND de Comps, an old knight, whose
DE COMPS, valour and experience raised him to
 the same dignity, which a gentleman
 of his name had formerly been invested with *.

This general defeat completed the calamities of the Holy Land. The emperor

Frederic, in a letter directed to the Earl of Cornwall his brother in-law, laments this fatal day, and lays the blame of it on the templars, who, after breaking the truce, which he had made, as he says, by the hospitallers advice, with the sultan of Egypt, trusted too implicitly to the succours and promises of the sultans of Damascus and Carac †.

Brother William de Chateauneuf, preceptor of the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and afterwards grand master of the order, in a letter which he wrote to the seignior de Merlai, attributes, in like manner, this bloody invasion of the Corasmins, to the league made with the sultan of
 1244. Damascus, against his enemy the sultan of Egypt; and, according to this knight's ac-

* Joinville, vie de St. Louis, p. 100.

† Dum præter idem quod templariorum superba religio, et originariorum terræ Barorum deliciis educata superbit, Soldanum Babylonie ad evocandum auxilium Choerminorum per bellum improbum et improvisum coegerunt, nostro regio sædere parvi penso, quod nos, una cum conventu et magistris domorum Sancti Joannis et Sanctæ Mariæ Teutonicorum, nomine nostro contraxeramus. Epist. Fred. Imperat. de depopulatione Terræ Sanctæ. Matt. Paris, ad. ann. 1244.

count of that bloody battle, in which he himself was present, the two grand masters were killed in it, and none of the hospitallers got off but himself and fifteen more, to lament, says he, the fate of those who died for the defence of the holy places and that of the Christians.

Both indeed were a real object of compassion. This order, once so flourishing *, was now in a manner destroyed, and the Christians, to whom the templars and hospitallers used to serve for a defence, were now left without any, and forced to immure themselves within the town of St. John d'Acre, while the Corasmins encamped in the plain two miles from the place, ravaged the open country, burnt the villages and towns, and either murdered the inhabitants without mercy, or carried them off into a miserable slavery.

But God, who, at the time appointed by his mercy, revenges his children upon the ministers he made use of in his wrath, suffered dissensions to rise up among these savage creatures; most of them killed one another, and the wretched remains of these barbarians being dispersed in the country, were knocked on the head by peasants. In a word, they were all destroyed, even to their very name, which, since that time, is no where mentioned in history †.

The loss sustained by the hospitallers against these barbarians did not cool their zeal and courage. We have observed, that those knights made head in all quarters against the infidels, and never failed to appear wherever the Christians made war against them. Spain, Hungary, and the principality of Antioch, received new advantages from the succour of their arms. Hugh de Forcalquier, castellan of

* Epist. flebilis prælatorum Terræ Sanctæ in Matt. Paris. ad ann. 1244. lib. 3. p. 631.

† Et factum est ut de sub cælo nomen eorum penitus deleteretur, adeo quod nec eorum vestigia apparuerint. Matt. Paris. ad. ann. 1247.

Emposta, was constantly in the army of don James king of Aragon. He appeared at the head of all the knights of that kingdom at the siege of Xatira; and the historian of Arragon observes, that a knight of St. John, called Don Pedró de Villaragut, distinguished himself there by actions of surprizing valour.

The knights of Hungary rendered no less eminent services to their country against the Tartars, who, at that time ravaged Transylvania, Hungary and Poland. Pope Innocent IV. wrote to them, in the most pressing terms, as may be seen by his brief of the eighth of the calends of July, in the fifth year of his pontificate. These noble warriors took up arms immediately, and, joining the Frangipani, who were then lords of Dalmatia and Croatia, they drove these barbarians out of Hungary, brought king Belo, who had been forced to quit his dominions, back in triumph, and replaced him on the throne.

Such important services did not fail of a suitable recompence; and, besides new privileges conferred upon them, this prince, who was son to king Andrew before-mentioned, walking in the steps of his father, granted lands and manors to the order, being persuaded, that he thereby acquired so many brave warriors to his kingdom, and illustrious defenders to his subjects, who were often exposed to the incursions of the infidels. It is thus the historian of Hungary expresses himself on this occasion, calling the hospitallers by anticipation the knights of Rhodes, though they did not take that name till an age after this event.

Whilst the knights were thus employed in Hungary against the Tartars, the prince of Antioch was attacked on a sudden, by the Selgeucidian Turcomans, who, an age before, had quitted their deserts, chosen themselves leaders, and overrun at the same time several countries of Asia, as we have observed in the beginning of the first book.

The

The prince of Antioch, surprized at this unexpected invasion; had recourse to the military orders, the usual refuge of all the Latin Christians. The two grand masters took the field, with the remainder of their knights, and drawing out likewise the troops which they had in pay, marched directly against the infidels. The fight was long and bloody; the number of the Turcomans, who were brave soldiers, balanced the usual effects of the valour of these knights. Brother Bertrand de Comps, grand master of the hospitallers, full of indignation at a resistance he was not used to meet with, throws himself into the midst of the enemy's squadrons, breaks them, and puts them to flight. But in this last charge he received so many wounds, that he died soon after, and the order chose for his successor brother Peter de Villebride, a knight highly esteemed for his piety and valour. They could not have made a better choice, especially in relation to a new crusade, which St. Louis, king of France, was to head in person; and which we are now to speak of.

The news of the rout of the Christian army being brought to pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, that pontiff, to engage the Christians of the west to send a new succour to the Holy Land, called a general council at Lyons, which was opened on the eve of St Peter and St. Paul. Galeran, bishop of Berytus, who brought over the account of the victory of the Corasmins, presented to the fathers of the council a letter, written by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the bishops of Palestine, to all the prelates of France and England; and containing a relation of that dismal event which was drawn up almost in these terms.

“ The Tartars, after destroying Persia, turned
 “ their arms against the Corasmins, and drove them
 “ out of their country These barbarians, hav-

ing no settled abode, made application to several
 Sarazen princes, to grant them some country to
 dwell in, but in vain ; for they are a people of
 so cruel a disposition, that those who come the
 nearest to them in that respect, refused to give
 them any shelter. The sultan of Egypt was the
 only person that acted otherways ; he invited
 them into Palestine, and promised the assistance
 of his forces to maintain them there. They enter-
 ed the country with a vast army, composed al-
 most entirely of horse, bringing their wives and
 children along with them. Their incursion was
 so sudden, that nobody could either foresee or
 oppose it ; and they ravaged, without oppositi-
 on, all the country, from Thoron of the knights
 to Gaza or Gazer.

In so surprising an invasion, there was no o-
 ther expedient but to set one barbarian against
 another ; and, by the concurring sentiments of
 the templars, hospitallers, Teutonics, and gen-
 try of the country, it was resolved to demand
 succour of the sultans of Damascus and la Cha-
 melle, our allies, and sworn enemies to the Co-
 rasmins. But as this succour was both remote
 and uncertain, the danger pressing, and Jerusa-
 lem without walls and fortifications, about six
 thousand inhabitants went to seek for refuge in
 other christian towns, and only a small number
 of Christians were left in the capital.

Such as quitted Jerusalem, took the road of
 the mountains, where they thought themselves
 safest, because the Mahometans who inhabited
 there were subjects of the sultan of Carac, with
 whom we were in truce. But these mountaineers
 violating the faith of the treaty, fell upon these
 refugees, killed part of them, took and sold o-
 thers, even the nuns ; and those who got down
 into the plains were massacred by the Corasmins ;
 so that scarce three hundred were left out of all
 that

" that number of people. At last the Corasmins
 " forced their way into the holy city. The few
 " Christians that were left there, women, chil-
 " dren, and old men, having taken refuge in the
 " church of the Holy sepulchre, those barbarians
 " butchered them all in that holy place; and, cut-
 " ting off the heads of the priests, who were then
 " officiating, they said one to another, Let us
 " shed here the blood of Christians, in the very
 " place where they offer up wine to their God,
 " who they say was hanged here. They after-
 " wards pulled off all the ornaments from the ho-
 " ly sepulchre, profaned the church of Calvary,
 " rummaged the tombs of the kings of Jerusalem,
 " disturbing the ashes of the dead, and scattering
 " their remains abroad *. The churches of mount
 " Sion, the temple and the vale of Jehosaphat,
 " where the blessed virgin's sepulchre is to be seen,
 " where no better treated. In the church of Beth-
 " lehem they committed abominations too horrible
 " to be related, carrying their impiety to a much
 " more outrageous height than ever the Sarazens
 " did, who alwas paid some regard to the holy
 " places.

" The military knights, and the barons of the
 " country, in conjunction with the succours sent
 " them by the sultans their allies, advanced direct-
 " ly against the barbarians, marching along the
 " sea coast, and came up with them near Gazar
 " or Gaza. They joined battle on the eve of St.
 " Luke. The Sarazens that were in our army
 " took to their heels; so that the Christians, be-
 " ing left alone to oppose both the Corasmins and
 " Babylonians, were borne down by the multitude
 " of their enemies. Out of the three military or-
 " ders, there were saved but thirty three templars,
 " twenty-six hospitallers, and three Teutonic

* Matt, Paris, ad, ann, 1244.

— knights,

“ knights. Most of the nobility and gentry of the
 “ country either perished in the battle, or were
 “ taken prisoners.

“ In this extremity, we have implored succours
 “ from the king of Cyprus, and the prince of Anti-
 “ oioch ; but we know not what they can do for
 “ us, or what we are to expect from them ; and
 “ great as our loss has been, we are still apprehen-
 “ sive of greater to come. The hospitallers are
 “ besieged by the Sarazens in the castle of Asca-
 “ lon ; the Holy Land is left destitute of all hu-
 “ man succour ; the Corasmins are encamped in
 “ the plain, two miles from Acre ; from whence
 “ they ravage the whole country as far as Naza-
 “ reth ; so that if we have no relief sent us by the
 “ month of May, the Holy Land is infallibly lost,
 “ and we shall be forced into some castles which
 “ are still left us, and which the hospitallers and
 “ templars have undertaken to defend.”

The reading of this letter drew tears from the whole assembly. The fathers of the council ordered the crusade to be preached up through all Christendom ; and that such as had already put on the cross, or should put it on afterwards, should assemble in a place to be agreed on, to receive the pope's blessing ; that there should be a truce for four years between all Christian princes : that during all that time there should be no tournaments, nor feasts, nor public rejoicings ; that the faithful should be exhorted to contribute out of their fortunes and estates, for carrying on so righteous an expedition, and that ecclesiasticks should pay the twentieth of their revenues, and cardinals the tenths, for three years successively.

Several princes, and a great number of the nobility, especially of the kingdom of France, put on the cross. But none did it with so much zeal, courage, and devotion, as Louis IX. king of France, known since by the name of St. Louis.

The

The pope founded his greatest hopes upon that prince. "Our Saviour (says the pontiff, in his letter to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) seems, out of all the other princes of the world, to have chosen our dearest son, the king of France, for the deliverance of the Holy Land, who, besides the virtues which distinguish him so highly above other sovereigns, commands likewise a mighty and a warlike nation *." This prince did not stay for the pope's instances and exhortations to engage him to succour the Christians of the east. As soon as he heard of the victory of the Corasmins, he resolved to go in person to the Holy Land; and, as he was obliged to wait till the affairs of his kingdom would permit him to take such a voyage, he sent them, in the mean time, large supplies of troops and money, which he committed to the care and management of the hospitaliers and templars.

They had received orders in the west, to send into Palestine the new knights, and such as were as yet probationers, with a body of secular troops, and all the money deposited in the chest of the priories; and the two grand masters having recourse to God, to implore the blessing of heaven upon their arms, appointed extraordinary fasts, and continual prayers to be offered up throughout the order †.

These knights, besides the king of France's money, and that of the order, brought likewise with them a thousand pounds, that Richard ‡ earl of Corn-

* Ut abstergerentur lacrymæ à maxillis matris nostræ ecclesiæ deplorantis filios suos nuper trucidatos, dominus rex Francorum, hospitalarii quoque et templarii milites neophitos, et manum armatam, cum thesauro non modico, illuc ad consolationem et auxilium ibi commorantium festinanter transmisit.

† Statuerunt inter se orationes et jejunia præter solita specialiter pro liberatione Terræ Sanctæ faciendæ. Matt. Paris.

‡ Comes Richardus ex innatâ sibi magnificentia illuc in succursum mille libros per hospitalarios transmisit. Idem ibid.

wall dedicated to the defence of the holy places. The two grand masters sent afterwards to the sultan of Egypt, to demand a pass for two of their knights, to be deputed to him on a particular negotiation. The design of their embassy, was to redeem out of the hands of the Sarazens, the hospitallers and templars, that had been taken in the late battle, and delivered up to them by the Corasmins. Formerly both the orders had always looked upon those that surrendered prisoners of war as so many dead men; but now, at such a dismal juncture, the grand masters did not think it proper to keep up to the severity of this discipline: and in hopes of receiving a new reinforcement from these prisoners, they sent away deputies with a large sum of money, to procure their ransom. The pass necessary for their security being delivered, these commissioners set out and arrived at the Egyptian Babylon, or at *Grand Cairo*, places which, by reason of their neighbourhood, are very often confounded by historians. These two knights, to smoothe the way for so extraordinary a negotiation, distributed several sums among the ministers and favourites of the sultan. The person then possessed of that dignity was Salech, the son of Camel, the eldest of Saffadin's children, a very politic prince, and formidable to his neighbours. It is to this prince, that the institution of that body of troops called **MAMALUCKS** is ascribed. They were so named from an Arabic word, which signifies a slave that is sold, because they were children carried off by the Tartars in their excursions, and bought of them by Salech. Of these he formed a regiment, out of which he took his principal officers, and they became at last so powerful, that they appropriated to themselves the right of chusing their sovereign. The deputies of the two military orders acquainted sultan Salech with the occasion of their embassy, and proposed entering into a negotiation for the ransom and liber-

ty of their brethren. But the sultan, who had made a secret and strict alliance with the emperor Frederic, and besides knew very well how odious the knights of both orders were to him, " God forbid, (says he to his ministers) that I should treat with such a perfidious set of men, that would formerly have delivered up their emperor; and though they call one another brethren and companions in arms, have yet, for five years past, when ever they met, fallen upon one another, with more rage and fury than they shew against the enemies of their law. Do not we know, (adds that prince) what little stress is to be laid on the words of the templars, and that they were the knights, who, out of antipathy to the hospitallers, violated the truce which I had made with the king of England's brother, whom the templars, by way of contempt, called that little boy? And yet, in the late battle, we saw these very templars, those proud and arrogant natures, abandon themselves to a shameful flight; and, what never happened in their order before, he that bore beausean, or standard of the cross, in contempt of his duty, and the rules of his institution, was the first that fled. But this is not the only point in which the templars and hospitallers have for a long time, without any scruple, broken the statutes of their profession. Whence is it, for instance, that these knights, who by their laws ought at most to part with only their capuce, or their girdle, for their ransom, now offer us such great sums, but to fortify themselves by their number against our power? No, go and tell them, that since the divine justice has delivered them into my hands, they shall never be set at liberty as long as I live; and that, following the example of their predecessors, I can make no difference between a knight that is a prisoner, and a knight dead upon the field of battle."

In vain did the sultan's ministers remonstrate to him, that he would lose, by this resolution, very considerable sums, which he might have for the liberty of the knights. That infidel prince, who was no stranger to the differences between the emperor and the pope, and knew to what a degree the knights were devoted to the holy see, rejected with obstinacy and contempt all the offers they could make him. The deputies were obliged to go back as they came, without being able to persuade the sultan to any degree of compliance; but before their departure, complaining to that prince's ministers of the great expence they had been at to no purpose in presents, of which they had the benefit, those ministers, to make them in a manner some sort of amends, told them, as a secret, that there was but one way to procure the prisoners their liberty, which was, by the emperor's desiring it of the sultan: *from whence it is easy to infer, says Matthew Paris**, the strict amity there was between Frederick and the Mahometan prince. But as the deputies, on the other hand, were sensible that the emperor was in war with the pope, and that their superiors could have no correspondence with that prince, who was actually under sentence of excommunication, they returned home with grief at leaving their brethren in captivity with the infidels.

St. Louis, after he had made a resolution to march into the east, spent two years in regulating all affairs within his kingdom, and in securing it from abroad by a general peace with his neighbours. This prince, after discharging those first and most indispensable duties of a sovereign, went to St. Dennis on June 12th, A. D. 1248, attended by Robert count of Artois, and Charles Duke of Anjou, his brothers, and received there from Eudes de Chateauroux, the pope's legate, the oriflame, a sort

* Ex cujus tenore colligi potest quanta familiaritas Fredericum cum sultanis copulavit, p. 698.

of standard like a banner, with the alms, purse, and the staff, according to the usual practice of pilgrims. Alphonfus, count of Poitiers, the king's third brother, though he had put on the cross, staid some time longer in France with queen Blanche their mother, whom the king left regent of the kingdom in his absence. Louis embarked afterwards at Aiguemortes, a famous port at that time, but now an inland town, four leagues from the sea, which is since retired to that distance. He set sail August 28th, with a favourable wind, and arrived happily in the road of Limisso, in the island of Cyprus on September 17th, the same year. He was received there by Henry de Lusignan king of the isle, upon whom the pope, to be revenged on the emperor, and prince Conrad his son, had lately conferred the title of king of Jerusalem, under colour of the pretended rights of queen Alice his mother.

The king of France, after refreshing himself a few days, being impatient to signalize his zeal, proposed to put to sea, and sail for Egypt. He was seconded in this motion by some noblemen, who were concerned in the last crusades, and represented to him, that if he staid longer in the isle of Cyprus, he would expose himself and his army to all the inconveniencies of a country, where the water and air were equally dangerous to strangers: whereas Egypt afforded at once proper conquests to make, and every thing that was necessary for life *. But the king could not follow his own inclination, by reason that part of his army was not yet arrived; besides the king of Cyprus offered to accompany him with all the gentry of the island, if he would allow them the necessary time to prepare for such an expedition: so the term of their departure was fixed for the spring following.

The pious king employed his stay very usefully

* Sanut, l. 2. p. 20. 3.

in making up the division, which a spirit of jealousy occasioned between the templars and the hospitalers; and he terminated at the same time the differences between Hayton, king of the Lesser Armenia, and Bohemund V. prince of Antioch and Tripoli. It was during the king's stay in the isle of Cyprus, that the grand master of the temple, and the marshal of the order of the hospitalers, impatient to procure the discharge of their knights, that were in the hands of the infidels, wrote to that prince to feel his pulse, whether he was disposed to enter into an accommodation with the sultan of Egypt. The holy king, burning with zeal, rejected the proposal with indignation, and forbade the grand master, on pain of his displeasure, ever to make him the like again. The grand master's enemies gave out, that there was a secret correspondence between him and the infidel prince, and that for the closer cementing a friendship between them, they had caused themselves to be blooded in the same porenge, as if the mixture of their blood would unite their hearts the more firmly to each other. We shall not enter into a discussion of the truth of this last fact, which does not appear very probable, especially after the rough manner in which the sultan had rejected the grand master's ambassadors. We shall only observe, after the Sire de Joinville, that in the treaties of peace and alliance, made at that time with the barbarians, they insisted upon this ceremony of being let blood together, mixing their blood with wine, and even of drinking it so. This was practised between Baldwin II. and a king of Comania, as the seignior de Toucy, an eye-witness, affirmed to St. Louis *. But there is not the least probability, that the sultan, who had just before refused to treat about the ransom of the knights, should presently after make a new alliance with the

* Joinville, p. 94.

grand master of the temple; it is much more reasonable to think, that the military orders, upon whom the burden of defending Palestine lay continually, would have been glad the truce had not been broken, nor a powerful enemy and neighbour provoked, under pretence of a new crusade, which, like most of the rest, after some slight efforts, would abandon the east, return into France, and leave the whole weight of the war to be sustained by the knights, and the poor remnant of Latin Christians that dwelt in Palestine.

The king paid very little regard to the representations of the grand master; so that after eight months stay in the isle of Cyprus, he embarked with the queen his wife, the countess of Anjou, the king of Cyprus, prince Robert, and Charles his brothers, the legate, and all the persons of quality, on Trinity Sunday, A. D. 1249; all the fleet set sail, and on the sixth day arrived before Damietta. The two grand masters repaired thither afterwards, with the choicest of their knights. Louis found the bank lined with the sultan's troops, which pretended to oppose his landing; but that prince, transported with zeal and courage, threw himself first into the water sword in hand, and being followed by his nobles and gentry, charged the infidels, and put them to flight. The fugitives carried terror and consternation with them into the city; and though that place was reckoned the strongest in all Egypt, yet the garrison abandoned it, and the inhabitants, loading themselves with their most valuable effects, stole out by night, after first setting fire to the city, and fled for refuge into the higher Egypt. It was not long before they had an account of this general desertion: two slaves of the infidels gave them notice about eight o'clock in the morning, that the city was abandoned. The king, after taking the necessary precautions to be assured of the truth of so surprising an event, made

his entry into the place, at the head of his troops; the legate purified the principal mosque, where *Te Deum* was afterwards sung with great solemnity. The queen, the legate, the patriarch, and the bishops, fixed their abode in this city, and the king, fearing the consequences of the Nile's inundation, and instructed by the misfortunes which the legate Pelagius's obstinacy had brought upon the army of John de Brienne, and the troops of the crusade, resolved to pass the rest of the summer there, the excessive heats of that season not allowing an army in that country to keep the field.

Alphonfus count of Poitiers, the king's brother, whom that prince had left in France, embarked the 26th day of August with the princess Jane his wife, only daughter of Raimond count of Tholouse, and they arrived two months after at Damietta. The count of Poitiers landed with a strong reinforcement, called by Joinville the *arriere-ban* of France*, the arrival of which augmented the king's zeal and courage. That prince saw himself at the head of a mighty army, sustained by the two military orders, who knew the country, and the method of making war among the infidels; the sea was open, the mouth of the Nile free for the receiving of new succours, and terror and consternation seemed to have seized the enemy.

The only point was to determine, whether they should go and attack them in Alexandria, or in Grand Cairo itself. Peter de Dreux, the old count of Bretagne, was of opinion, that they should turn their arms first against Alexandria, the port whereof would be of great advantage for the fleet and convoys; but the count of Artois declared himself for the siege of Grand Cairo, out of a notion that the taking of the capital would be attended with the surrender of other places, whereas the reducing

* Joinville, p. 25.

of Alexandria would not, he said, exempt the army from forming afterwards the siege of Cairo. This reason prevailed, or perhaps the obstinacy and haughtiness with which that prince usually maintained his opinion *. Grand Cairo was about fifty leagues from Damietta, and about the mid way they were to pass by the town of Massara, where the infidels were intrenched on the banks of a branch of the Nile, called the Thanis.

The king marched from Damietta, at the head of his army on November 20th, and upon the road received advice of the sultan's death, occasioned by a gangrene in one of his legs. But the common people, who will never allow that princes die like other men, or of ordinary deaths, reported, that he was poisoned by a valet de chambre, bribed for that purpose by the sultan of Damascus, his enemy. But be that as it will, the army marched on continually, without meeting indeed any opposition in their march, but without finding any provisions in the neighbourhood. The country was deserted and abandoned; a profound solitude reigned on all sides, and there was no appearance of any enemy in the field. This tranquillity did not last long; as the Christians drew near to Massara, they were infested day and night with skirmishes. Every day produced a new engagement, and they narrowly escaped the treachery of some Sarazens, who pretending to be deserters, had like to have surprized the templars †. Five hundred Egyptian horse, under some pretence or other, coming to submit themselves to the king, that prince received them, and having no mistrust, left them together in a body: they marched too generally in the van, as knowing the country better than the western troops. The army, after a month's march, drew

* Joinville, p. 27.

† Joinville, p. 35.

near the arm of the Nile, which is called Thanis, when these traitors seeing a squadron of the templars farther advanced than the rest, drew their scymiters, and charged them suddenly. But they had to do with warriors that were never frightened at the number of their enemies: the squadron stood their ground, the knights fought with their usual valour, and gave time for their comrades to come up to their succour. The infidels were soon surrounded on all sides; the traitors were cut in pieces, all died by the sword, except such as attempting to cross the Thanis to join their army, were drowned in that canal.

The king, foreseeing that the difficulty of the passage might detain him a long while in that angle, which is formed by two arms of the Nile, took care to fortify his camp there. This precaution was necessary, against enemies who advanced every hour to attack him even in his intrenchments. As he had a large, deep, and unfordable channel, the king attempted to raise a bank or causeway, but the infidels continually interrupted his work by their wildfire, which burnt his machines *. At last an Arabian, a Bedouin, for the sum of five hundred belans of gold, shewed him a ford †, upon which the count of Artois desired leave of the king to pass over first; and in order to obtain it, engaged, provided he had the templars and hospitaliers with him, to secure the passage for the rest of the army. The king, fearing the young prince should trust too much to his courage, and through an eager desire of glory, should engage himself too far among the enemies, made him swear upon the gospels, that he would attempt nothing, till the whole army was passed; and for the greater precaution, he ordered that the templars and hospital-

* Joinville, p. 41.

† Matt. Paris, p. 789.

lers, when they were on the other side, should lead the van, and be put at the head of all the troops that were to march under the count his brother's orders.

That prince, at break of day, set out for the ford, at the head of about one thousand four hundred horse, composed of the templars and hospitallers, and two hundred English knights, commanded by William Earl of Salisbury, who was come at their head to the succour of the Holy Land. All these troops following the Bedouin for their guide, threw themselves into the water with a resolute courage. The descent was easy, and the bottom firm and solid: but there was more difficulty in getting out at the place of landing, by reason that the bank was steep, and of a great heighth. The count of Artois, with his troop, landed the first in spite of three hundred horse of the enemies that were minded to oppose his passage. He charged them at his landing, and as there was no equality in the match, the Sarazens, as soon as they saw him over, disbanded, and ran galloping back to their camp.

The count, forgetting the oath and the word he had given the king his brother, pursued them sword in hand, though the two grand masters cried out to him, that this flight was perhaps only a usual stratagem of the oriental nations. But Robert; who listened to nothing but his courage, arrived as soon as the fugitives at the enemies camp, surprized them, forced their intrenchments, broke into their camp, and, in spite of all the resistance that Facardin, general of the Sarazens, who died in this action, could make, the infidels concluding, that the whole Christian army had broke into their camp, flew, some of them towards Cairo, whilst others threw themselves into Massoure, and not judging it safe there, hastened away to a greater distance, without daring to rally, till they thought themselves far enough not to be seen by the enemy.

Nothing

Nothing could have been wanting to so glorious and surprizing a success, if the count had known how to be satisfied with it *. But the fight Feb. 8. of Massoure, set open and abandoned both by the enemy, and most of its inhabitants, was a fatal charm which prevailed over all the remonstrances that William de Sonnac, grand master of the templars, could make: he was absolutely resolved to continue the pursuit. In vain did that old warrior represent to him, that he owed his victory, and the defeat of the infidels, only to a panic terror, and to their being persuaded, that the whole Christian army had crossed the river, and was present in the action; that he should be careful not to undeceive them; for as soon as they discovered the small number of his troops, they would rally as usual, return to the charge, and hem him in on all sides. The young prince, naturally haughty, and now more elated by this beginning of victory, cried out in a passion, "We need no other
 " proofs, but this artful discourse, of the correspon-
 " dence which they say the templars hold with the
 " infidels; here I plainly see their treachery, and
 " the seditious temper of the hospitallers. It is
 " not without reason that we have so long been
 " told, that they alone, to make themselves always
 " necessary, and to drain the west of its money,
 " hinder the war from being brought to an end:
 " this is the true cause of the loss of so many
 " princes and lords that have engaged in the cru-
 " sades †, whom they have either poisoned, or suf-
 " fered to perish in battle, for fear of seeing them-
 " selves subject to the dominion of the western
 " princes: and who is there that can be a stranger
 " to the difficulty which the emperor Frederic had
 " to escape their snares and ambushes ‡?"

* Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1250.

† V. de chron. Nangis ad an. 1249.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 790.

The two grand masters, and the knights in general, enraged at these reproaches, replied, "How! great prince, do you think that we have abandoned our fortunes and our country, that we have taken the religious habit in a strange land, and that we daily expose our lives only to betray the Christian church, and renounce our own salvation? Be assured, a thought so unworthy of a Christian never entered into the mind of any knight *." The grand master de Sonnac, transported with resentment, cried out to the standard-bearer of the order, "Display your banner; arms and death must this day decide our honour and our destiny: we were invincible, added he, had we continued united, but a spirit of division is going to be the destruction of both."

The Earl of Salisbury was for interposing to bring them to temper, and directing his discourse to the French prince, "I believe, most serene count, says he to him, that you cannot err in following the advice of so holy a man, and one of such a consummate knowledge in the art of war, as the grand master; and young persons will never suffer any dishonour by depending on a man of his age and merit." But the English lord was treated with as much indignity as the grand master; and the count of Artois answered this wise and reasonable discourse in a taunting manner. All this, cried the prince, smells of the tail; alluding to a current report at that time, that the English, by way of punishment for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, had tails clapped to their backside. "Count Robert," replies the English earl, with indignation, "I'll go such a length of danger to day, that you shall not come near so much as my horse's tail."

* Ut quod, comes generose, habitum suscipiæ religionis? Nunquid ut ecclesiam Christi everteremus, et proditionibus intendentes animas nostras perderemus? Absit hoc a nobis, imo ab omni Christiano. Matt. Paris. p. 790.

And,

And, upon saying these words, they all pushed forward immediately like madmen, without following any orders or advice but what their passion and rage suggested. They entered all into Massoure, which they found open : some stopped there to plunder, others advanced on, and endeavoured to come up with the Sarazens ; but those infidels were already rallied under one of their leaders, called Bendocdar, a brave officer, equally a soldier and a general, who afterwards raised himself by his courage and capacity to the throne of his masters. This general, seeing the small number of the French, attacked them again, and put them to flight in his turn. The count of Artois was obliged to throw himself into Massoure, and was immediately invested there ; and, to prevent his escape, Bendocdar, after securing the gates, posted a considerable body of troops between the town and the Thanis, to prevent the king's advancing to the succour of his brother. That young prince, whose courage had hurried him into danger, was attacked at the same time by the regular troops, and by the inhabitants of Massoure : the one engaged the French in the streets, and the others showered down upon them stones, burning coals, boiling water, and arrows from the tops of the houses ; so that the count of Artois, the earl of Salisbury, and most of the knights of both orders, perished in that unfortunate action ; scarce a man escaped but the grand master of the temple, who, after losing an eye, and being covered all over with wounds, made his way back to the christian army. The Sarazens took some prisoners, among which was the grand master of St. John. The king himself had no better fortune. After various actions, wherein he lost abundance of men, the French, exceedingly weakened by diseases and want of provisions, were, in their retreat to Damiata, surrounded, and overpowered by the prodigious numbers of the barbarians. The king
of

of France, Alphonfus count of Poitiers, and Charles count of Anjou, his brothers, with all the nobility, were taken prisoners.

As I am not writing the history of that prince, I do not think myself obliged to dwell upon the detail and circumstances of this dismal event, whereby a king so powerful, wise, and valiant, was exposed as a spectacle to all the world, and as a most deplorable instance of the misfortunes of mankind. He obtained his liberty from these barbarians, upon restoring Damietta, and paying 800,000 besants for the ransom of the prisoners, the greatest part of which sum was advanced by the hospitallers and templars *.

His intention at leaving Egypt was to return immediately into France; but the grand masters of the hospitallers and templars made so lively a representation to him of the miserable condition of the Holy Land, and of the danger it was in of falling again into the hands of the infidels, that he resolved to continue some time in St. John d'Acre, in order to repair the fortifications of those other towns that the Christians were still masters of.

During his stay there, the prince of Assassins, whom the French call the ancient, or rather the seignior of the mountain, and whom we 1251. have spoken of before, sent two deputies to demand of him the presents which that vile captain of banditti used to exact from princes, by way of tribute, for not assassinating them. "The emperor of Germany, (says one of these envoys to him), the king of Hungary, the sultan of Egypt, and all other princes, have not failed to make him this acknowledgement, knowing well that they should live no longer than our prince plea-

* Postquam pecuniæ prætentæ quantitatem, quam mutuo receperat a templariis et hospitalariis, Januensibus et Pisanis penitus receptis obsequiis, persolvisset. Matt. Paris, p. 799.

“ sed * : he gives you notice therefore, to submit
 “ like them to the same custom, or at least to pro-
 “ cure him a discharge of the tribute which he pays
 “ to the grand masters of the temple and hospital.”
 They were asked, says Joinville, why they did not
 make away with the two grand masters, who forced
 them to pay that tribute. “ If our lord, (replied
 “ they), should cause one of these grand masters to
 “ be killed, there will soon be another as good in
 “ his room, and therefore he will not expose his
 “ men to danger, where nothing is to be got by it.”
 The king, disdainful to give an answer to such barbarians,
 sent them to the two grand masters; and Peter de Villebride,
 who understood their language, and knew how to deal with
 these banditti, taking upon him to be the spokesman; “ Your master,
 “ (says he to them), is very bold to offer such pro-
 “ posals to a king of France; if we had not a re-
 “ spect for your character as envoys, we would
 “ have you thrown this moment into the sea; get
 “ you gone, and tell the seignior of the mountain,
 “ that if he does not, in fifteen days time, send the
 “ king letters, to acknowledge and make satisfac-
 “ tion for his insolence, he will have the knights
 “ of the two orders upon his back.”

The apprehension of their resentment made him
 afraid, who used to make the generality of mon-
 archs tremble: he sent back within the fifteen days
 the same deputies, who brought the king, in his
 name, a shirt, to signify that he would be attached
 to him as closely as a shirt sticks to a human body;
 and they presented him at the same time a gold ring,
 in which the name of their master was engraved,
 which very probably he sent him as a protection.

The Sire de Joinville, from whom I have taken
 this passage, relates another, which is indeed much
 less considerable, and even insignificant enough, if

* Joinville, p. 85, et 86.

any thing can be so that is useful to give us a right notion of the discipline of the order in those ancient times. That lord, in the life he has left us of St. Louis, writes, that whilst he attended upon the king in the town of Acre, some French gentlemen and knights, who were come into the Holy Land under his banner, going not far from the town, to hunt antelops, a sort of wild goat common in that country, they were met by some hospitallers, and a dispute arising about the game, they came to blows, and the French were severely 1251. handled.

The lord of Joinville complained immediately to the grand master; it was William de Chateaufneuf, whom we mentioned before, a Frenchman by nation, an old knight, a rigid observer of the regular discipline, who, after passing through all the offices of the order, had lately succeeded brother Peter de Villebride. This new grand master, having examined into the affair, condemned his knights to eat in the refectory on the ground upon their mantles, according to the custom and practice, says Joinville, of the Holy Land; and he adds, "I was there present with the knights, and we desired the master to make the brothers get up off their mantles, which he refused; but at last we forced him to it, for we seated ourselves upon the ground by them, in order to eat with them; but they would not suffer it; nay, they were obliged to get up from us, to go and eat with the other brothers at the table, leaving us their mantles, probably by way of satisfaction and reparation."

They kept a profound silence in the refectories of the order; pious and edifying lessons supplied the place of conversation; and it was owing only to the instances and remonstrances of brother Rambault, prior of Hungary, that Pope Innocent IV.

who was then in the chair of St. Peter, permitted the hospitallers of that nation to break silence in the refectory, whenever they were obliged to receive any secular persons, eminent for their birth or dignities.

Such was the regular discipline of this order, at the time that St. Louis was summoned back into France, by the death of queen Blanche, his mother, regent of the kingdom in his absence. That prince, after fortifying St. John d'Acre, rebuilding Saïde, Cæsarea, and Jaffa, and leaving a considerable succour of troops and money in the country, embarked on April 24th, 1254, fraught with the blessings and prayers of all the people; and, after having been equally the admiration of the Sarazens and of the Christians, for his valour in action, and an invincible constancy under his misfortunes.

Whatever expence that holy king had been at, and whatever precautions he had taken to put the few places left the Christians in the Holy Land into a state of defence, the pope, being justly alarmed at his departure, recommended the preservation thereof, in a particular manner, to the hospitallers; and, to engage them to it the more, he not only confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the order, but also, under a notion of recompensing the essential services they were continually doing to all Christendom, he bestowed upon them the monastery of mount Thabor, built upon that mountain in the manner of a fortress, with the castle of Bethany, where queen Melisenda, wife of king Fulk of Anjou, had formerly founded a convent for nuns, who, after the loss of Jerusalem, had retired into Europe.

If we consider the situation of the places, and the neighbourhood of the Sarazens, these grants were not so much favours as engagements to fresh perils.

The grand master, without any regard to the dangerous

gerous situation of those places, put several detachments of his knights into them. He afterwards fortified the castle of Crac, in the county of Tripoli, which had for a considerable time belonged to the order; and as the grand master's only view was to repress the inroads of the infidels, he put a hundred knights, with some troops in pay of the order, into the castle of Assur, which served as a frontier garrison, in respect of the lands which the Sarazens possessed in Palestine.

Cares so becoming his dignity, and the valour of his knights, could not fail of the justest encomiums, if these knights and the templars had not at that time, in contempt of the duties of their profession, and the laws of Christianity, turned their arms against one another. Their old animosities revived; whether strong or weak, they attacked one another where-ever they met. In fine, these two bodies, so formidable to the infidels, came to a sort of battle and general engagement. The fortune of war proved nowise favourable to the templars; not a man was taken prisoner, but the hospitallers cut in pieces all that came within the reach of their swords: scarce, says the ecclesiastical historian *, was there left a templar to carry the news of their defeat to the rest of their order. The remnant of the templars in the Holy Land, not finding themselves strong enough to revenge the disgrace, sent a general summons to their brethren in the west; and, what is most surprising in this civil war, as it may be called, where matters were carried to such a height of fury and malicious resentment, is, that, excepting the frequent battles and encounters occasioned by the jealousy and misunderstanding so long subsisting between them, there was still kept up in

* Concitante enim humani generis hoste, imbutos mutuo odio ex insan. emulatione concepto animos, hospitalarii tantum templariorum fragm. edidere, ut vix acceptæ cladis nuntius superesset. Raim. ad ann. 1259. n. 61.

their houses the same spirit of charity to the poor and pilgrims, and the same zeal for the defence of the Christians of Palestine. It were to have been wished their emulation had never taken another turn.

The grand master de Chateauneuf died about this time, and upon his death 1260. HUGH DE was succeeded by brother Hugh de REVEL. vel, of a noble family in Dauphiny, upon which he reflected a new lustre by his wise conduct in the government. During the eighteen years that he was grand master, the order was put under a new regulation with regard to its temporalities. We have observed, that all the estates of the order were managed by knights that were accountable for the profits, and, after taking what was necessary for their own subsistence, were obliged to remit the rest to the supreme house and treasury of the order. But as the expences of these administrators often swallowed up the whole income, and besides, the order, to provide supplies for the immense charge of a continual war, stood in need of a fixed and certain revenue, they resolved, in a general chapter held at Cæsarea, upon a rate of the sums which each house was to send to the Holy Land, and pay into the treasury; and because, in the obediences and commissions given afterwards to the knights intrusted with this administration, they made use of this expression, "We re-commend these estates to you;" Commendamus *, &c. this particular administration of each house was stiled Commendataria; from whence came the name of commandery, and the title of commander.

Yet this title was not then given for life; it might be superseded, and was substituted instead of that of preceptor, which had been made use of till that time.

* Pantaleon hist. l. 3. p. 82.

These commandries were afterwards ranged under different priories. The prior was obliged to oversee them, and send to the Holy Land, either in troops or money, the ordinary contributions of each commandery within his priory, which were stiled Responfions, and might be raised according to the occasions of the order, and pursuant to the regulations and decrees of the general chapter.

The chapter then held at Cæſarea, to inforce this principle of not converting the revenues of the order to a private use; a principle founded upon the vow of poverty, to which all the knights had bound themselves, forbade them to make wills, to appoint heirs, or bequeathe any legacies. By this statute they were not so much as allowed to leave by will any extraordinary gratification to their servant, without the expreſs content of the grand master. Such was the diſcipline of the order at that time, neceſſary indeed, not only in regard to their vow of poverty, but likewise on account of the continual wars which the order was engaged in againſt the infidels. We are now going to enter upon times ſtill more diſmal, wherein theſe military friars continued to give new proofs of their zeal and valour.

Bendocdar, who had ſo eminent a ſhare in the defeat of Robert count of Artois, reigned at that time in Egypt: he was the fourth of the Mamelucks that had been raised to the throne; and he got poſſeſſion of it by the death of Melech Elvabet, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, under pretence that the ſultan would not break the truce which he had made with the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine.

Bendocdar being choſen to ſucceed him by the Mamelucks, ſignalized his acceſſion to the crown by a bloody war which he made upon the Chriſtians and particularly upon the knights of the two orders *. The ſultan of Ba-

* Rain, ad ann, 1263. n. 1, 2.

bylon, says Pope Urban IV. writing to St. Louis, is come, contrary to the faith of treaties, to encamp between mount Thabor and Naim; and his troops, in hatred of the christian name, destroy all with fire and sword up to the gates of Acre: he has demolished the church of Nazareth, and that of mount Thabor. His soldiers kill indifferently all that they meet, without distinction of age or sex. The fate of such as die by the sword of the barbarians is now no longer to be lamented; there are no sorts of torments but they inflict them on their prisoners, to force them to change their religion.

The sultan resolving to drive the Christians entirely out of Palestine, laid siege to the fortress of Affur*, which belonged to the order of the hospitallers. It was one of the strongest places in Palestine, and the grand master, besides the garrison, had put ninety knights into it. who were all killed one after another in the several attacks; and 1265. when the sultan at last entered, it was over the corpse of these intrepid knights who died on the breach, and, glorying in their obedience, received the enemy with pleasure, and went joyfully to their death.

The templars met with no better treatment in the year following, nor did they shew themselves less valiant and faithful to their religion. They were in possession of another fortress called Sephet. Bendocdar besieged it, and after an obstinate defence, the prior of the temple, who was governor of it, seeing all his works ruined, was obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated by the capitulation, that he should be conveyed with his knights and the rest of his garrison, which still made 600 men, to the nearest place belonging to the Christians. But the sultan, as soon as he saw himself master of Sephet, caused them all to be disarmed, and allow-

* Sacut, L. 3. par. 12. c. 8.

ed them only till the next night to resolve either to die, or turn Mahometans. The prior of the temple, who was a holy monk, assisted by two Franciscans, employed that little time so well, and exhorted his brethren and soldiers with so much zeal and piety, to prefer a crown of martyrdom before a momentary life, dishonoured by a shameful apostasy, that they all the next day readily offered themselves to the slaughter, rather than change their religion. The sultan, provoked at their firmness, and at the constancy of the prior of the temple, after having tempted him in vain with the offers of riches and honours, ordered him to be flayed alive *, and, as if he was afraid he might survive so horrible a torture, commanded his head to be chopped off. He inflicted the same torments on the two Franciscan friars that had served as chaplains in the place. “ By the death of so many
 “ knights of both orders, (says pope Clement IV.
 “ in one of his letters), the noble college of the
 “ hospitallers, and the illustrious militia of the tem-
 “ ple, are almost destroyed; and not to insist on
 “ the loss of these two fortresses, and of the arms
 “ and equipages of the knights, how shall we be
 “ able, after this, to find gentlemen and persons of
 “ quality enough to supply the places of such as
 “ have perished on these two occasions ?”

Though the contemporary historians, from the time of the twelfth century, gave the title of grand to the master of the hospitallers, as may be seen in this history, yet the popes, either in conformity to ancient usage, or on account of their own supreme dignity, never spoke of the superior general in any higher terms than that of master of the hospital-
 lers of St. John. It was pope Clement IV. whom

* Post hos vero fratrem Jacobum de Podio et fratrem Jeremiam, quia ceteros in hunc firmaverant, et priorem templariorum excoriari fecerunt, deinde suffigari, postremo ad locum ceterorum deducti capite cæsi sunt. Sanut, ib,

we have just now mentioned, that in a short
 1267. rough sente of the services of the hospital-
 lers, gave their head the title of grand mas-
 ter, as may be seen in a brief of that pontiff, bear-
 ing date November 18th, A. D. 1267; and this
 pope in another bull adds, "The brothers of the
 " hospital of St. John of Jerusalem ought to be
 " regarded as the Maccabees of the New Testament.
 " Those noble knights have generously renounced
 " the pleasures of the world; and abandoned their
 " country, and estates, and fortunes, to take up
 " the crois, and put themselves under the banner
 " of Jesus Christ; they are the instruments which
 " the Saviour of mankind makes use of daily to
 " purge his church of the abominations of the in-
 " fidels, and they bravely expose their lives to the
 " greatest dangers, for the defence of pilgrims and
 " Christians." Thus does the pope express him-
 self in his bull, dated from Viterbo, on the
 1269. fourth of the kalends of June, and in the
 first year of his pontificate.

But how honourable soever these elogiums and
 titles were the Holy Land, and the orders in par-
 ticular, pressed and overwhelmed in a manner by
 the formidable power of Baudouin, stood in need
 of something more effectual for their

March 7. succour than barren praises. The sul-
 1268. tan improving the consternation the

April 15. Christians were in, had lately reduced
 Jaffa; and some days after he took the
 castle of Beaufort. But the most im-

May 19. portant conquest that he made, was
 that of the famous city of Antioch,
 which did not cost him so much as the trouble and
 expence of a siege. He became master of it by
 the treason of the patriarch, others say, by the
 cowardice of the inhabitants: they did not howe-
 ver meet with any better treatment; whether the
 sultan delighted in blood, or was minded to lessen
 the

the number of christian inhabitants in that great city, he put seventeen thousand of them to the sword, and carried off an hundred thousand into slavery.

Bendocdar after this turned his arms against the fortress of Crac, which belonged to the order of St. John. The knights held out near two months, against all the power of that prince, like their brethren that defended Affur; and, rejecting all motion of capitulation, they died upon the breach; nor did the sultan enter the place till the last of these noble warriors were slain.

Such was the condition of the Holy Land, without a sovereign, without an army, without succour, without any resource in nature, but the military orders, who were overwhelmed by the prodigious armies of the infidels. I would willingly draw a veil over these dismal passages, if the laws of history did not oblige me to relate equally events of different natures, and bad success as well as the good.

Notwithstanding these continual wars, and amidst the noise of arms, the grand master, who was as intent on keeping up the regular discipline, as on the defence of the places entrusted to the valour of his knights, called and held no less than five general chapters, where he made several very useful regulations, and confirmed at the same time the ancient usages of the order; among which we find, that, for the admission of a knight, it was necessary that he should be born in lawful wedlock, and be descended, both by the father and mother's side, of noble families, noble by arms, as well as name. The same condition was required likewise with regard to the nuns of the order; and in one of these chapters, the castellan of Emposta was empowered to admit and receive the possession of such ladies as gave proof of their being truly called, and desired to be received, as well in the

priory of Sixenne, as in the other nunneries that depended on his castellany and priory. A decree passed in the same chapters, and under the grand mastership of de Revel, against giving the habit to any monk who had been professed in another order. In fine, by the regulations there made, the hospitallers could not chuse any strange confessors that were not of the order, without an express permission from the prior of the church; the superior of their chaplains, who acted as bishop and ordinary of the order, enjoying that authority in virtue of some papal concessions, and wearing the episcopal ornaments when he officiated.

From these monastic cares and regulations, the grand master passed to others of greater importance, concerning the preservation and defence of the Holy Land; and, in concert with the grand master of the templars, he made a truce with the sultan of Egypt, in hopes of improving that cessation of arms to obtain succours from the west, without which it was impossible for the Latin Christians to maintain their ground any longer in Palestine.

Both the grand masters went thereupon into Italy, to solicit in a warmer and more effectual manner. The advancement of Thealde or Theobald, arch-deacon of Liege, to the throne of St. Peter, was the motive that determined them to take that voyage. The cardinals, after suffering the holy see to continue vacant for two years and nine months, without coming to any resolution about the person to be appointed visible head of the church, agreed at last in the choice of Theobald arch-deacon of Liege, of the noble house of Visconti; and his piety having carried him, at that time, to the holy Land, they sent him the instrument of his election thither. There could not have been a better witness of the extremity and real necessities of the Christians in that country. This holy pope was deeply affected with them, and, before

fore his departure, promised the grand masters to use all the authority which God had then given him in the church, for the procuring them succours. It is said, that as he went on board the ship that was to carry him into Italy, to confirm his promise, he broke out into this expression of the one hundred and thirty sixth psalm; "O Jerusalem, holy city, if I ever forget thee, let me be blotted out of the remembrance of men."

It was to this pontiff, who took the name of Gregory X. that the two grand masters, who followed soon after him, applied themselves upon their arrival in Italy. He had already prevented their instances and remonstrances; for, as soon as ever he landed, neglecting all the compliments of the cardinals and courtiers, he employed himself in nothing, for eight days together, but in finding out expedients and means to succour the Holy Land. He immediately secured twelve gallies well manned, of which Pisa, Genoa, and Marseilles, and Venice, were to furnish each of them three. To supply the charge of the war, he borrowed twenty five thousand marks of silver, of Philip the Hardy, king of France, son of St. Louis; the templars mortgaging to that prince all the lands which they possessed in his dominions, for the payment of the money*.

The two grand masters arriving in Italy, heard, with great satisfaction, of the measures which the Pope had already taken in favour of the Holy Land. However, after kissing his feet, they represented to him, that this succour might indeed put off, for some time, the loss of the few places which the Christians had left; but that there must be a more considerable force, if he had any thoughts of driving the infidels entirely out of Palestine.

The pope gave into their views, and, after conferring with the cardinals on this subject, he called

* Rainaldi ad an. 1272, n. 7 & 8.

a general council at Lyons, as the surest means of exciting the zeal of the faithful, and procuring a new crusade. This we learn from a letter of that pontiff to Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, king of France. "During the stay we made in the Holy Land, says Gregory in his letter, we conferred with the leaders of the Christian army, with the templars and hospitallers, and with the great men of the country, about the means of preventing its total ruin. We have discoursed on the same subject since with our brethren the cardinals, and we find that some relief must be sent away immediately in the gallics, till a more considerable succour can be raised, which we hope to obtain by the meeting of a general council."

This council was not held till A. D. 1274. The pope was present there, and it was opened 1274. on May 2. He would have the two grand masters appear also, to make a representation in person of the deplorable condition of the Holy Land; and if we may believe an old manuscript, intituled, The Ceremonial of the Cardinals, which is kept in the Vatican library, number 4734, that pontiff assigned them an eminent place in the council, above all the ambassadors, the peers of France, and other great lords that were come to this famous assembly.

It is not my business to relate what passed in the several sessions of this council; I shall only observe, that in the last it was resolved, that the crusade should be preached up over all Christendom, and to furnish the vast expence that such an armament required, a considerable tax was laid upon all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, by way of tenths, payable in six years.

Philip king of France had already put on the cross. Rodolph, who, of a private count of Hapsburgh, had been a little before, elected emperor of

Germany,

Germany, received the same from the hands of the pope; and Michael Palæologus, who had surprized Constantinople in A. D. 1261, in order to be acknowledged emperor by the western princes, offered to join his forces to those of the crusade, and to put on the cross himself. But no body did it with more zeal than Charles Duke of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, and king of the two Sicilies, who laid claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, in virtue of a conveyance and cession made him in this very council, by Mary princess of Antioch, daughter of Bohemund IV. and of the princess Melisinda, though Hugh III. king of Cyprus maintained, that the crown of Jerusalem belonged to him, as descended in a right line from Alice of Champagne, daughter of Henry count of Champagne, and Isabel, daughter of Amaury the third king of Jerusalem. This prince was crowned king in the city of Tyre; and the king of Sicily on his side, till he could go in person to the Holy Land, to take possession of the poor remnant of that miserable kingdom, sent Roger de St. Severin thither as his lieutenant. The barons of the kingdom were divided between the two pretenders; and the grand master of the templars, at his return from the council, declared himself for the king of Sicily. But the grand master de Revel, and the knights of St. John, continued neuter, agreeable to their rule and the statutes of the order, protesting, that they were not allowed to take up arms against any Christian prince whatever. This conduct, though equally wise and equitable, drew upon them the resentment of Charles of Anjou, who seized all the effects and possessions of the order in his dominions.

Bendocdar would not have failed to make his advantage of these fatal dissensions, which divided all the Latin Christians of Palestine; but he died about this time, of a wound that he received in a

battle, wherein he was defeated by the successors of Genchizcan.

Historians assign the year following for the death of the grand master Hugh de Revel, who 1278. was worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, and with the terrible apprehensions of those deplorable calamities which he foresaw must soon happen. The knights, assembling a chapter in their house of **NICHOLAS** St. John d'Acre, chose in his stead **LORGUE.** brother Nicholas Lorgue, a knight of a good natured and insinuating temper, who used his utmost endeavours, during his administration, to put an end to the divisions between the knights of his own order and those of the temple.

Though the truce which the two grand masters had made with Bendocdar, before their departure for the west, was still in force, a captain of Mecc-Sais, his successor, either by secret orders from his master, or out of a pillaging humour, made incursions notwithstanding, and ravaged the country up to the gates of Margat, a fortress belonging to the knights of St. John.

The knights, surprized at this inroad in a time of truce, sallied out of the place in good order, 1278. attacked the pillagers, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The sultan, eager to have his revenge, sent a stronger party, making a body of five thousand men; into the neighbourhood of the place. The knights made a second sally; but before they advanced against the enemy, they left part of the garrison near the gates of the city in ambush, to secure their retreat. They then marched straight against the enemy, and, after a slight skirmish, retired with all the appearance of fear, as if they had been dismayed at the superior numbers of the infidels. The Sarazens, full of confidence and presumption on this occasion,

sion, pressed hard upon them, the knights continuing to retire before them, till they had drawn them beyond the ambuscade; then they made head, and charged them in front, whilst the troops that were in ambush came out, and, setting up a great shout, attacked the infidels in the rear; who, being surprized, and marching most of them without any order or precaution, as if it had been to a certain victory, were soon broken and routed, after a very faint opposition. The Sarazens fled for their lives: vast numbers of them were killed, and several taken prisoners, with the emir that commanded the detachment.

The sultan, nettled at this last defeat, resolved to be revenged by the utter ruin and destruction of the fortress; but important affairs detaining him in his own territories, he could not execute his design till three years* after, when he invested the place with a formidable army. The grand master always kept a large body of troops there. Melec-Sais tried at first to take the place by scalado. His soldiers advanced with ladders to the walls, and attempted to mount to the top; but they found the same courage and opposition in all places. The knights suffered them to mount, only that they might have the greater fall. Stones, fireworks, boiling water, every thing was made use of on this occasion; and the sultan, after losing great numbers of his men, was forced to order the sounding a retreat. That prince found himself obliged to carry on his approaches in form. He opened trenches before it, and battered the walls with engines for throwing stones; and such other machines as were in use at that time; but they advanced slowly: the knights were continually making sallies, and after clearing the trenches, carried terror oftentimes into the heart of the infidel's camp. They burnt all his engines more than once, and would have forced the sultan to raise the siege, had they not been sur-

prized by a secret enemy, against which there was no defence.

Whilst Melec-Sais was amusing them, as we may say, with false attacks, his troops were at work, day and night, in digging mines, which they carried on to the walls of the place, so that they were supported only by some props of wood; he then summoned the governor and garrison to surrender. They received the summons with railery, and asked the officer if his master thought himself obliged to make them such a compliment before he raised the siege. But they were soon forced to change their note; the officer told them, that the fortress was all undermined, and offered to carry them into the mine, and shew them, that the sultan had nothing to do, but to set fire to the props, and open himself a passage into the place. The governor thereupon sent two knights along with the officer, who were immediately convinced of the truth of his account. There was no remedy but to treat, and give up the place; and, as soon as the knights were marched out, the sultan caused it to be razed, to deprive them of all hopes of recovering it in a more favourable juncture.

A certain historian * tells us, that some German knights, that were concerned in defending 1285. this place, to preserve the memory of it, built afterwards, in their own country, a fortress on the same plan, calling it Mergatheim, which, after the order of St. John had enjoyed it for a long time, fell at last into the hands of the Teutonic knights.

The sultan, after the taking of Margat, seized on the castle of Laodicea, and was preparing for the siege of Tripoli, when he was made away by one of his principal emirs, called Melec, who took possession of his throne, by the name of Melec-

* P ntaleon 1, 3. p. 85.

Meffor. This new Sultan, after he had settled his authority in Egypt, refumed his predecessor's design of driving the Christians out of Palestine, and laid siege to Tripoli, which he carried by storm, and razed, as Melec-Sais had done Margat. He might have pushed his conquests farther; but fearing to draw all the forces of the west upon his back, by some new crusade, he made a truce with Henry II. King of Cyprus, who, after the dreadful catastrophe of the Sicilian vespers, had, notwithstanding Charles duke of Anjou king of Sicily's claim, got himself acknowledged and crowned king of Jerusalem, and chased the French prince's lieutenant and troops out of Palestine *.

Such was the situation of affairs in the Holy Land; of all the places which Godfrey de Bouillon, and his successors, had conquered, there was not one left but the city of St. John d'Acre. All the Greek and Latin Christians, of different nations, took refuge there; and that which should have been for its strength, occasioned the weakness of the place, by the divisions which rose between the chiefs of these different bodies, who all pretended to be independent on one another.

The grand master of the hospitallers, deeply affected with the loss of Margat, and the dismal prospect of the utter ruin of Christianity in the Holy Land, went into the west during the truce, in hopes of procuring some succours from those parts. He applied himself to pope Nicholas IV. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, and represented to him, in the most moving terms, the extremity to which the Christians of Palestine were reduced, and the want they were in of a powerful assistance of troops and money. But all that he could obtain was about

* Apud Acon urbem neftariæ rex Cypri fecit fe coronari in præjudicium regis Siciliæ, in regem Jerufalem; et quia id templarii, et fratres hospitales permiferant, res eorum et bona per Apuliam et terram regni Siciliæ in manu regia capiuntur.

1500 men, most of them banditti and vagrants, without either courage or discipline. The pope excused himself from furnishing, out of his own treasury, the money necessary for their pay; so that all the fruit of the grand master's voyage was only some marks of an empty compassion, and letters of recommendation to some Christian princes, which were not a jot more serviceable; besides, the ill success of so many crusades, in which had perished an infinite number of princes, noblemen, and people of the west, had exceedingly cooled the zeal and ardour of the Christians. The grand master therefore could only bring back with him some troops levied in haste, which the Venetians transported to the east on board their galleys.

This weak reinforcement arriving at Acre, served only to augment the troubles and divisions there. The grand master, worn out with age, but still more with grief, to see no resource left for the saving of that little state, died soon after his return, happy in this, that he left the world before his order left Palestine, and was not witness of the loss of the Holy Land.

This grand master, during his government, and by advice of the council of the order, made several very useful regulations. It was he that prescribed the fashion of the seal of the grand masters, and that of the treasury or council. To him likewise is ascribed an article in the statutes, which forbids the knights to come with arms into the chapter, or into the place where the grand master is to be chosen: and in the eighteenth title, there is a catalogue which the grand master published before he died, of the faults and crimes punishable with degradation from the order.

JOHN DE
VILLIERS.

1289.

The chapter, upon his death, chose for their grand master brother John de Villiers of the language of France. It was during his mastership, that some

some christian soldiers of the garrison of Acre occasioned the breaking of the truce. We have observed, that they were most of them banditti, and fellows picked up in different places, that had lifted purely out of idleness and libertinism, but wanted both courage and discipline; and, as they received no regular pay, they went often out of the town in parties, roved over the country, and robbed both Christians and infidels without distinction: they had lately, in breach of the truce, plundered some open towns of the Sarazens *. The sultan sent to demand satisfaction for the outrages of those who commanded in the place, but there was no governor in chief there at that time: the city was filled with Cypriots, Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Florentines, English, Sicilians, hospitallers, templars, and Teutonics, all independent on one another; each nation took up a different quarter of the city, where they were cantoned without any subordination. The legate and the patriarch with the clergy were also intrenched in a particular place: all this formed a considerable body of inhabitants, capable enough of defending the place, had they been united.

But the jealousy between so many different nations, and the private interests of their chiefs, rendered them suspected and odious 1290. to one another; and instead of joining together for the common good, if one nation proposed an opinion, it was enough to make another reject it. They often came to blows, fighting it out with one another; and this miserable city contained its worst enemies within its own walls; such particularly were a great number of the soldiers of the

* Mille quingenti stipendarii in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium à papa Nicolao missi contra voluntatem civium, temp. et hospitalis militia armati de Acon exeuntes trebas um soldano initas irruunt, et versus castella et Saracenum opaca incurstantes, absque misericordia Saracenos utriusque sexû quos reperiunt, occiderunt, qui pacificè sub trebis initis quiescere se credebant. Nangis 1289.

garrison,

garrison, and most of its inhabitants, being a crew blackened with the most horrid crimes. Murders, assassinations, and poisonings, passed unpunished; the criminals found always a sure asylum in the other quarters of the city, where they had not committed their villanies. The corruption of manners was almost general in all conditions, not excepting even those whose profession obliged them to the strictest continency. They gloried in vice, disguising it under the name of human frailty, and there wanted not men impudent enough publicly to avow that abominable sin which gives horror to nature; so that of all the people, whether Christians or Mahometans, that dwelt in Palestine, the inhabitants of St. John d' Acre passed for the most profligate. We must not therefore be astonished, if this confused multitude of murderers, debauchees, and banditti, refused to give the sultan satisfaction, upon the complaints that he made, as the heads of the three military orders proposed. The infidels, upon this refusal, declared war against men that were without a head, without an army, without forces, and had no other view in taking arms, but to find impunity for their past crimes, and opportunities of being able to commit new ones.

The sultan, being well informed of the divisions that reigned in Acre, levied a mighty army to form the siege of the place, and drive the Latin Christians entirely out of Syria, but this prince died on 1291. the road. It is said, that he was poisoned by an emir, lieutenant general of his army, who flattered himself with hopes of succeeding him on his death. The prince had however life enough left to cause him to be apprehended, the villain was drawn and quartered by his orders, and the sultan, before he expired, conjured prince Calil his son, not to inter his corpse, till he was master of the city *.

* Chron. Guil. de Nangis,

The army, upon his death, proclaimed the young prince sultan, by the name of Mebec Seraf. He advanced immediately towards Acre, which he invested on April 5th, A. D. 1291, his army is said to have consisted of 160,000 foot, and 60,000 horse.

The attacks were brisk and continual, and neither night nor day did the infidels allow any rest to the besieged. They worked by sapping, and carried on their mines, at the same time that they battered the walls with their engines for throwing stones, and all other machines of war that were then in use. As the sea was open, and the Christians had a greater number of vessels in the port, most of the inhabitants, especially of the richer sort, embarked with their wives, children, and best effects. Some sought an asylum in the isle of Cyprus, and the rest took refuge in the ports of Greece and Italy. There remained only in the place about 12,000 regular troops, composed chiefly of the hospitallers, templars, Teutonics, and some secular soldiers, that fought under the banners of the three orders.

Henry II. king of Cyprus, who all this while appropriated to himself the title of king of Jerusalem, landed in the port of Acre, at the head of 200 horse, and 500 foot *. This was but a weak reinforcement against the formidable power of the sultan; and besides that christian prince was not very much in repute for his courage. So the garrison, which saw plainly they could not hold out long without a commander that was skilled in the art of war, elected by common consent brother Peter de Beaujeau, grand master of the templars, a general of great experience, who had grown old in the command of armies, to be governor of the place. Necessity of state, the truest interpreter of merit, made

* Chronic. Nangis ad ann. 1290.

them offer the command to him, and it was done even with the consent of the king of Cyprus himself, who, in a juncture of such importance, and so full of danger, was well contented to forget the title, which he had alway affected, of king of Jerusalem.

The sultan tempted the grand master with offers of immense sums, to which the templar made no answer, but by shewing a just indignation at the sultan's fancying him capable of listening to them. By his orders they made every day sallies, in which a vast number of the infidels were destroyed; but notwithstanding this vigorous resistance, the sultan, who did not want soldiers, still advanced his works; he undermined, and at last threw down several towers, and amongst others that which they called the cursed tower, which was looked upon as the fortress of the city. The infidels advanced immediately to the storm; the king of Cyprus, that was posted there, made head against them with his Cypriots; a great number of them fell in the action; and the infidels would have carried the place, if the night coming on had not put an end to the assault.

The king of Cyprus, seeing that he should have the same enemies, and in much greater numbers, to engage with the next day, desired the Teutonic knights to take his post during the night, under pretence that his troops had need of rest after so rough an attack, and promised that he would come in the morning at break of day to relieve them. But, upon quitting the breach, he went directly to the port, embarked on board his ships, and made the best of his way to his island.

The infidels did not fail the next morning to renew the assault; the Mamalucks, a resolute body of soldiers, mounted the breach, killed all that opposed them, overwhelmed the Teutonic knights with their vast numbers, and penetrated into the

very heart of the city. They already thought it their own, when, at the cries and noise both of the conquerors and the vanquished, the marshal of the hospitallers of St. John, by the grand master's orders, advanced at the head of a body of his knights, and charged them so briskly, that they gave ground; great numbers were slain in this forced retreat, and the hospitallers pushed several of them down headlong from the top of the breach into the ditch.

The sultan, who did not value the loss of a few battalions, sent, the next day, a fresh detachment to renew the attack *. Never was there a more obstinate engagement; the breach was carried and recovered several times; night alone parted the combatants. The infidels, discouraged at so brave a resistance, turned all their efforts on that side next the gate of St. Anthony: there they found the two grand masters, whose presence alone seemed to make their knights invincible. The fight continued a long time with equal warmth and fury: the Mamalucks and hospitallers engaged hand to hand, and seemed of a general battle to have made so many particular duels. No body appeared sensible of danger; every soldier would either conquer or die. But as the infidels were far more numerous than the Christians, there were at last but few of these left for the defence of that post; and the marshal of the hospitallers, a knight of great valour, falling with several wounds that he received at the same time, the grand master of the templars addressed himself to the grand master of the hospitallers in these words: "We can hold out no longer, (says he), and the city is lost if you do not fall immediately upon the enemy's camp, and find means to make a diversion that may cool their warmth, and allow us time to fortify the post we are defending."

* Sanut. l. 3. p. 12.

The grand master of the hospitallers, taking with him such of his knights as were able to mount on horse-back, parted that moment, and sallying out of a gate on the opposite side to that of the attack, flattered himself with hopes of surprising the enemy's camp; but they kept too good a guard. The sultan, during the assault, had made all his cavalry mount: the grand master, who had not 500 horse, was attacked immediately, and obliged to retire; and, as he entered the town again, he received the mortifying news, that the grand master of the templars was just killed with a poisoned arrow; that most of his templars were cut in pieces, and that the enemy was master of the city, and putting all to fire and sword. As there was nothing
1291. else to be done but, if possible, to save his troops, he turned towards the port, though all the while pursued by the infidels; and, putting a considerable number of cross-bow men in some barks, under shelter of the arrows, with which they were continually galling the sultan's cavalry, he embarked, together with his hospitallers on board a carrack belonging to the order, and arrived safe in the isle of Cyprus. Three hundred templars, that had escaped the fury of the infidels, endeavouring to gain the port, were intercepted. These gallant soldiers of Jesus Christ, having tried in vain to break through the innumerable croud of Egyptians that filled all the streets, threw themselves into the tower of the temple, resolving to be buried in its ruins: several women belonging to the town, as well married as unmarried, had already taken refuge there. The templars barricado'd it immediately, and held out for some days*. The sultan caused the tower to be undermined, and the templars finding it was only supported by props of wood, which they might set fire to every moment, agreed

* Idem Sanut, l. 3.

to quit it, on condition they would leave them a free passage to the port, facilitate their embarkation, and preserve the honour of the women. The capitulation being signed, they opened the gates of the tower : but no sooner were the first soldiers of the enemy entered, than they offered violence to the females. The templars, enraged at their brutality and breach of faith, laid hold on their swords, cut those insolent creatures in pieces, shut the gates, and, though their loss was inevitable, yet they would never hear a word of capitulating. The infidels, with swords in one hand and ladders in the other, advanced to scale the tower. The walls were in an instant covered with soldiers, endeavouring to mount, but being undermined, as we have said, the props failed, and the tower sunk with a terrible crash, burying the infidels as well as templars in its ruins. The women shut up in the tower had the same fate, preferring an honourable death to the danger they would have run, if they had fallen into the hands of these barbarians, who were still more odious to them for their brutality and debauchery, than they were for their cruelty.

A whole convent of nuns, of the order of St. Clare, did not come short of them in resolution. Those holy virgins disfigured themselves after various and different manners, with more care than the women of this age take to set themselves off with, unnatural colours. Some cut off their noses; others made terrible slashes in their cheeks; all of them had their faces besmeared with blood; and, in this frightful condition, the infidels seeing no objects but what gave them horror, massacred them without mercy, and, by their death, put those chaste spouses of the Saviour of the world out of the reach of their insolence. Above sixty thousand persons either perished in St. John d'Acre, or were made slaves to the infidels. The sultan, to cut off all hopes from the western Christians of ever making

another settlement in that city, razed it to the ground, with Tyre, Sidon, and all the cities which he had taken along the coast. The hospitallers, templars, and Teutonics, that were left in some castles belonging to them, being unable to make any defence against so formidable a power, abandoned them, and embarked for Cyprus. It is said, that out of 500 templars, that behaved themselves so bravely in the defence of Acre, only ten escaped, who, getting into a bark, landed happily on the coast of Cyprus. The Teutonic knights, finding some vessels, and not caring to stay any longer in the east, returned to Europe, and retired into Prussia and Livonia, which their order enjoyed in absolute sovereignty. But the hospitallers and the few templars that were left, in hopes of being able, by the help of some crusade, to recover their footing in the Holy Land, would not quit the neighbourhood of it; and till some new succour should be brought from Europe, and the knights of their order could be got together, their deputies obtained from the king of Cyprus the town of Limisso or a place of retreat, where they arrived one after another, according as they could escape the furious pursuit of the Sarazens.

It was a very moving spectacle indeed to see these brave knights come out of their vessels, all over wounds, with looks suitable to their fortune, and infinitely afflicted at having survived the utter loss of the Holy Land.



END OF VOLUME FIRST.



